

The small - but ever-expanding - back room: John Turney looks at the Ministry of Defence's growing dependence on university-based researchers and at developing links between civil and DEFENCE RESEARCH and development (page 11)

Since RISK is an inevitable, accepted part of any venture, what is the value of education for risk? G. C. A. Dickson looks at a new interdisciplinary academic subject with far-reaching practical implications (page 14)

ARTS: Théâtre du Soleil: Shakespeare du Soleil: Howard Hodgkin at the Whitechapel Gallery (page 17)



"He was exquisitely sincere and sensitive, and he succeeded in expressing in poetry a modern sensibility." Leavis's comment about EDWARD THOMAS expresses in brief the trajectory of the poet's reputation has taken since his death. This week, Bernard Bergson reviews a new biographical portrait of an increasingly admired modern figure (page 18)

In a special section, *The THES* looks at some of the newest and most exciting developments in TECHNOLOGY and computing (pages i to viii)

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Social science in disarray

The Economic and Social Research Council has just celebrated an anxious 20th anniversary. Established in 1965 at what appears in retrospect to have been the high tide of political if not academic enthusiasm for the social sciences, the council today faces a most difficult and uncertain future. It is still possible, despite the heroic efforts of its present and past chairmen, that the ESRC may not survive the political and intellectual traumas that have afflicted the social sciences. Even if such a terminal outcome continues to be evaded the ESRC may be condemned to a reduced future as ideological policeman and routine administrator of disciplines on indefinite parole.

This gloomy assessment may surprise and even annoy those who had assumed that the threat to the council had been removed. It is certainly true that its former chairman, Mr Michael Posner, was able to deflect the Government's determination to abolish the then Social Science Research Council - with the *deus ex machina* intervention of Lord Rothschild and the covert help of Mr William Waldegrave. The victory of course was not complete. Lord Rothschild's recommendation of "level funding" for the SSRC was not accepted - but few parts of higher education have been allowed this minimal privilege. As for the change in the council's name, to "science" and to include the buzz-word "economic", it seemed a small price to pay for survival.

It is equally true that Sir Douglas Hague, Mr Posner's successor, has worked hard to persuade the social sciences to put their house in better political order. Progress has been made towards breaking up the disciplinary fiefdoms that tended to dominate the old SSRC and redressing the council's work to more practical objectives, with servicing the needs of industry and business as a dominating priority. Much of the organizational ground work for this change of direction, of course, had already been done before the arrival of Sir Douglas, in particular the move from discipline-based to "problem"-based committees. But because of the political crisis that almost overwhelmed the council he has been able to approach this task with a thoroughness which his predecessors would have found difficult to match. Sir Douglas has also placed great emphasis on improving the managerial efficiency of the ESRC, an essential task now that its inadequate budget means that the council can no longer pursue the free-wheeling open-ended intellectual adventures of its first two decades.

Yet none of this seems to have done the trick. The ESRC remains a beleaguered institution. Still there can be no assurance that it will survive, even in its new slim and relevant state. What seems to have happened is that the social science community has been able to deflect at any rate the direct political challenge presented by Sir Geoffrey Howe when as Chancellor of the Exchequer he expressed the Treasury's scepticism about the value of the SSRC's work, by Mr Norman Tebbit who so cruelly caricatured anthropology in a general election speech, and by Sir Keith Joseph with his nagging suspicions about left-wing bias. Such

politicians of course can and will exact compensation for the disappointing defeat of their prejudices by denying the ESRC adequate resources. But, after Rothschild, they cannot destroy the council by a frontal assault.

However, the social science community now faces new challenges less threatening at first glance but maybe more deadly in their final effect. The first is the growing scepticism among natural and applied scientists. Initiatives like the Technical Change Centre have done little so far to establish a more elaborate and sustained dialogue between social scientists and their colleagues in science and technology. Nor has the evident disarray of social science done anything to raise its academic reputation among those in other fields. Sir Keith's dislike of the term "social science" is perhaps a trivial and superficial symptom of a deeper and more serious concern about the intellectual coherence of these warring disciplines.

But two new factors powerful and virulent are fuelling the scepticism of natural scientists. One is the Darwinian environment in which disciplines now have to compete against each other for scarce research resources. It is scarcely reasonable to expect high-energy physicists to feel especially tender towards the claims of sociology when they face being cut off from their brighter intellectual hopes by Britain's threatened withdrawal from CERN. The other is that there is now a growing conviction that social science has become an active liability in higher education's struggle to represent itself as an up-to-date, non-subversive, in-touch-with-industry enterprise (and to claw its way back up the public expenditure pecking order). Despite the pieties of vice chancellors and (a few) directors about the need to protect social sciences and humanities, very many people outside these disciplines have been persuaded by six years of austerity and the prospect of six more that "cruel necessity" requires these weakened disciplines to be thrown to the political wolves.

It is this gloomy context rather than the actual event that made last week's inquiry of the ESRC by the Advisory Board for the Research Councils such a menacing occasion. At a time when nuclear physics, geology, oceanography, and many other "hard" science disciplines face retrenchment, the ABRC cannot afford to give social science an easy ride, even if that were its inclination. Maybe the ESRC and social science now have more to fear from the scepticism of peers than the hostility of politicians.

The second challenge is the break-up of the precarious academic solidarity between the various social science disciplines built up by the old SSRC in its best years. Then there was a sense that sociology, psychology, economics, management and the rest formed part of a larger intellectual enterprise that could be summed up in the phrase "social science". Today that sense of commonality has almost disappeared. A former marriage of disciplinary love has degenerated into, at best, a marriage of administrative convenience; some, notably in management and business, may even call it a marriage of inconvenience.

Church and state

Just when the churches' traditional role in higher education seemed to be withering away into a sentimental anomaly the Church of England has come to the uncompromising defence of its remaining colleges. In a letter to the Prime Minister the Bishop of London has warned that it will use all its available political influence to prevent the closure of any more of its colleges. The immediate issue is the uncertain future of the College of St Mark and St John in Plymouth which having been reprieved by the National Advisory Body is again threatened because Sir Keith Joseph has rejected the NAB's advice.

However, the church's surprisingly tough intervention has wider implications. In recent years all the churches have seemed to display a dwindling

determination to protect their colleges and so a distinctively Christian sector of higher education. Even the Roman Catholics seemed to have retreated a defence from their traditionally robust little from their interests. In the eyes of many observers this pattern of declining commitment was confirmed when the churches agreed that the NAB, an agency dominated by the local authorities, should take over responsibility for the voluntary colleges without insisting that they be given adequate representation on the NAB board or any representation on the NAB committee.

The message to their colleges therefore seemed to be that they should seek their fortune within a homogenized public sector and abandon any attempt to maintain a distinctive

identity as a voluntary sector. Many colleges have acted on that message - including the College of St Mark and St John which has turned itself into a first-rate community college and abandoned plans to build a monumental chapel. The message contained in the Bishop of London's letter, however, is different; it is that the NAB must treat the church colleges as special cases because of the historic partnership between church and state in education. The result is confusion. Is the church simply reasserting its property rights, or is it arguing that the voluntary colleges must preserve a distinctively Christian ethos? It is difficult to feel much sympathy for the latter ambition. But the second, certainly deserves to be debated, with both concern and passion.

The third challenge to the future of the ESRC is that it has become the prisoner of the intellectual confusion of the social sciences, which has much deeper roots than the political hostility which the council has to endure. The sources of that confusion are not difficult to describe. The key social science disciplines were conceived as intellectual responses to the "social question" of the 19th and 20th centuries; their particular forms, particularly in their more vocational aspects, were moulded by attempts to provide answers to that great question most notably through the creation of welfare state. Today most of these answers are out of fashion and some with great power are disposed even to deny the relevance of the question.

Nearer to home the rise of social science was intimately aligned with the opening-up of higher education itself. To the extent that this expansion of higher education was one small answer to the social question that dominated the political agenda social science was bound to be implicated in its success or failure. Although few deny the retrospective case for expansion, more question the form it took and the benefits it has produced. New students, new subjects, new styles, new institutions have all generated new problems, sometimes it seems without producing the educational, cultural and social advances that were idly claimed. The social sciences are much more sensitive and vulnerable than any other disciplines to any back-wash of ambivalence or disappointment.

But the troubles faced by the social sciences need to be considered in perspective. The immediate task for the ESRC is to ensure that the scholarly basis which Britain needs in the social sciences as much as in other sciences is protected as far as possible from erosion by the capricious spirit of the 1980s. In this the council deserves the effective support of the ABRC. The welfare state is not about to be dismantled, except in party manifestos, and its demands for highly skilled manpower are not about to diminish significantly. Both the private and public sectors of industry will come to rely more and more on the skills developed through study of the social sciences - in personnel analysis, and so on. Yet none of these demands can be met properly if the social sciences continue to be regarded as open range for political predators or as academic pariahs by peers in other disciplines.



That's two stone, ten pounds and four ounces, Professor Lapping. Thank you, Maureen. Is that with or without Dr Quintock's thesis?

That's with. Ah yes. Well, that still means we're only five or six pounds behind Philosophy and quite a few people left to go. Now, what about Mr Odgers? His pile is just behind you. Everything here, Maureen? Books, monographs, occasional papers, abstracts of conference papers? It looks a little light. Nine pounds three ounces, he estimates, but he did send a note as well, saying that on grounds of principle he was refusing to include his doctoral thesis. Principle?

Yes. He says: "I take the greatest exception to the vice chancellor's idea that the only way for this university to establish UGC research priorities is by resorting to this form of crude quantification." Have you seen his thesis, Maureen? I did glimpse it sir, when he took it off the stack. And what was your honest estimate of it?

I'd say about nine ounces, Professor Lapping. Just one slimy volume. And no separate boxes of data or appenda or completed questionnaires. Only a minor setback then. And still no news of Dr Piercemiller's data?

I'm afraid not. It does now look as though most of it was carried out to sea during that freak storm in Deauville. Pity. But here's all of mine. That's five-and-a-half pounds. And last this large pile from the research fellows. Another nine-and-a-half pounds. What sort of a total does that give us? Altogether... it's... er... four stones, six pounds and seven ounces. Not bad at all. A whole stone and a half above Philosophy, nearly a stone clear of Linguistics but still a good half-hundredweight behind Economics. Not bad at all. No grounds for a low research rating there, wouldn't you agree, Maureen? Yes, sir. One slight problem, though. What's that?

Well, Professor Lapping. As you know I'm only too happy to take all this over to the vice chancellor's office for the final weigh-in. But I do need to make a phone call first. So, what's the trouble, Maureen? Well... could I put them down for a second?

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City is told to think again on poly merger

by Peter Aspdon

The Government has directly intervened to revive talks between City University and the City of London Polytechnic on the possibility of a future merger.

The direction - the first such move involving a British university - came in a letter to both institutions from the Department of Education and Science permanent secretary, Sir David Hancock, on behalf of Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science.

He said although the university had pulled out of a merger feasibility study last year, he was asking it to review that decision and "expressed the hope" that it would now collaborate with the polytechnic in such a study, involving the University Grants Committee and National Advisory Body as appropriate.

The letter suggested that the study should consider the academic, logistical and financial arguments for and against such a merger with regard to the balance of subject provision; the focus of activities between teaching and research; and between different modes and levels of provision; the recurrent costs; and the premises and associated costs of the two institutions and the prospects for the 1990s.

Sir David said the DES would "stand ready to help with the study", but looked in the first instance to the two institutions concerned, together with the two advisory bodies, to initiate it and take it forward.

The possibility of a merger between the two institutions was revived last February in an Inner London Education Authority report on higher and further education in the capital.

This said there were "sound academic justifications, particularly in science and the social sciences for a

merger", despite the university's academic policy committee's earlier conclusion that there were no academic grounds.

The ILEA paper said a merger would "produce a new type of institutions with major strengths in science engineering, business studies, law and social sciences... well placed to take a lead in the development and applications of new technology".

But a senate meeting at the university voted overwhelmingly not to participate in a feasibility study, pointing out that there was no national academic context for such a move.

The academic registrar of City, Dr Alan Seville, said this week that the previous merger plan was badly timed. "We were still waiting for the Green Paper, unsure of the national context and still assessing the effects of the 1981 cuts."

The chairman of the polytechnic's governors, Lord Limerick, has already replied to the DES letter, welcoming the latest initiative. He said the polytechnic had "no hesitation" in reiterating its willingness to take part in a merger study, and that its position had not changed since the matter was last discussed in March.

Mr Neil Fletcher, chairman of ILEA's further and higher education subcommittee, also welcomed the move. "We have always thought a merger makes excellent educational sense, and we are glad that the DES is sending signals to the university to take part in a study," he said.

A DES spokesman said: "The department is not trying to interfere with the running of a university or dictate to it in any way. As set out in the letter we have suggested that they may wish to take part in a full study. It is not an instruction."

Leader, back page

Kingman calls for science ministry

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

Sir John Kingman, former chairman of the Science and Engineering Research Council, condemned the administration of British science as inadequate for forming a coherent policy last night.

He said Britain needed a science ministry, not to get science a voice in the Cabinet, or to boost research funds, but to produce an effective policy for public support of science in government, the universities, and elsewhere.

Professor Kingman's comments came in a lecture at the London School of Economics. He said the present, decentralised administration of British science was a disjunction between basic and applied research, and prevented anyone outside the Treasury taking an overall view of science.

It also left our international relations in science in disarray, he said. "Who is the minister of research and technology from Paris or Bonn to talk to when he comes to London? The answer is that he probably doesn't bother to come."

None of the existing agencies was equipped to overcome these problems, in his view.

Sir John rejected a recent argument from Mr Peter Brooke, Under-Secretary at the Department of Education and Science, that the problems of science policy should be tackled by better communication within Whitehall. "The issue is not communication but power."



'Reject Lindop' advice

by Karen Gold

Senior officials at the Department of Education and Science are pressing the Secretary of State, Sir Keith Joseph, to reject the main recommendations of the Lindop committee - to allow some polytechnics and colleges freedom to validate their own courses and award their own degrees.

Ministers and DES senior advisers meeting this week failed to reach a decision on the report, and a further meeting will be held later this month.

Sir Keith's political advisers are known to be encouraging him to go even further than Lindop and abolish the national public sector validating body, the Council for National Academic Awards.

But advice from his civil servants says the CNA should be reprieved even from the streamlined role envisaged for it by Lindop. Instead it should be given the changes in its royal charter it has recently requested, to enable it to give institutions more freedom, and then be put on probation for two or three years.

That would give ministers a chance to see if the council's promises that it will cut its bureaucracy are genuine, according to a paper written by the DES. It will also avoid the risks of lower standards and academic drift which might occur in institutions not under national control.

The Lindop committee was established by Sir Keith in April 1984, to investigate public sector degree standards and validation by the CNA and universities in polytechnics and colleges.

Its report a year later recommended that some institutions should be given the power to award their own degrees, and complete freedom from external validation. The power to designate those institutions (and withdraw designation) would be given to the Secretary of State through legislation.

But the DES advice to Sir Keith this week warns that machinery to give advice and designate institutions, and keep them under review, would be costly and open-ended, since the DES would be constantly dealing with bids for new status.

Instead the CNA should be warned that if it did not simplify its validation of all institutions, not just the leading ones, and significantly cut its costs, it would be under serious threat in a few years' time.

Such a threat would be backed up by the new members just appointed by Sir Keith to the council. They include several with strong views on the CNA and standards - such as former senior chief HM Inspector Miss Sheila Browne - and several in political sympathy with Sir Keith.



The rags to riches story of a painter with little full-time education, who worked in the City, went to evening classes and became principal of Kingston School of Art is commemorated in a retrospective exhibition at Kingston Polytechnic. The painter, Reginald Brill, specialised in large oil paintings, of which this one, *The Operation*, the first of his figure compositions and dating from the 1930s, is typical.

DES ignored UGC warnings on cuts, says audit report

The Department of Education and Science ignored repeated warnings from the University Grants Committee that its cuts in university funding of 1981 were bound to lead to "damage, disorder and diseconomy", says a National Audit Office report published this week.

The report says the £238 million spent by the DES on special redundancy arrangements succeeded in enabling universities to keep within their reduced recurrent grant levels - but the Government's strategy has resulted in serious imbalances of subject areas and age groups.

When the special arrangements ended in September 1984, actual reductions of academic and related staff totalled 4,400 - 47 per cent higher than estimated - while non-academic staff had been cut by 2,800, 30 per cent lower than estimated.

The report says the difficulties caused by the 1981 cuts raises questions on how far and in what circumstances the UGC may in future have to intervene more directly in decisions on the affairs of the universities, collectively and individually. "Any change in

the UGC's role would of course need to take into account the continuing safeguards necessary for academic freedom and university autonomy," it adds.

The report by the Comptroller and Auditor General says that at the outset of the cutting exercise, the UGC warned that any reduction in university income greater than 2½ per annum would lead to disorder. The planned reduction of 11 per cent was "well in excess of the critical rate", and was later deepened by the effects of inflation and a further cut in the recurrent grant.

During the exercise itself, the DES received further warnings from the UGC, which said in a December 1982 interim appraisal that there were "aspects to give cause for concern and a number of uncertainties." Further information on the significant disadvantages of the cuts were given in the UGC's annual reports to the Secretary of State.

But the NAO examination found "no evidence that during the run-down period, the DES sought to pursue

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'Switch' cash polytechnics fail to fill engineering places

Two-thirds of Britain's polytechnics, including all but one of the prestigious institutions that won extra money and students in the Government's "switch" scheme to boost engineering and technology, have failed to meet their recruitment targets in engineering.

Eighteen of the 29 polytechnics have fallen below their targets, some by as much as 35 per cent. Eleven have reached them, but only in several cases by extra recruitment of part-time students or over-recruitment to one degree to compensate for failure to reach their target in another. At least two courses recruited so badly they have had to close.

A trickle of new students may improve recruitment slightly between now and Christmas. But the overall numbers suggest that first year polytechnic engineering students are around 10 per cent down.

Of the eight polytechnics which received money in the second part of the Government's £45 million switch programme, only Kingston has recruited to its NAB target. All the others, Central London, Coventry, Hatfield, Huddersfield, Middlesex, Plymouth and South Bank - have not.

The others below their targets by anything from 3 to 35 per cent are Brighton, City, Leicester, Manchester, North East London, North Staffordshire, Portsmouth, Oxford, Sheffield, Sunderland and Wales.

The two to lose courses are City, which could not recruit enough students to make its HNC in metallurgy viable, and North East London, which only recruited six students - now dispersed to other institutions - for its BEng in mechanical and production engineering.

Mechanical and civil engineering courses generally recruited much worse than electrical and electronic engineering. NELP and Central London appear to be worst off with around a 35 per cent gap between their intake

and their target, but several others - including Sunderland Plymouth and Wales, were 15 to 20 per cent out. In contrast, among the polytechnics not normally considered high status for engineering are most of those who filled their places. North London said it was "chock-a-block"; Bristol, which recently lost a course after a critical report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate, and Liverpool, despite its political problems, are full. The others to meet their targets are Birmingham, Lancashire, Leeds, Newcastle, Thames, Trent and Wolverhampton.

Leader, back page



Opinion polls have replaced democracy as the voice of the people and may have become more than that. They are used also to influence attitudes and behaviour, on the assumption that most people are conformists at heart however independent and enlightened they may pretend to be in public. The fact that the results of opinion polls are front page news in respectable newspapers confirms that the opinion formers of journalism have joined the team and accepted that they too are mouthpieces for the pollsters.

Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) must now be one of the main opinion formers in the country, supplying reassurance if we are confirmed defrauders of income tax and unemployment benefits, for if everyone else does it we might as well try too. I see that a poll has also established that the majority of people are in favour of advertising on television for the BBC as well as ITV, so it looks as if the matter is already settled. But I might as well put in my own small word; if someone had only asked my opinion in the street I suppose my reply would have meant that several thousand people felt the same.

The question should be not whether people prefer advertising on television as a means of raising revenue rather than levying a licence fee but whether we actually want advertisements on television as part of our regular entertainment. I do not believe that we do. I have carried out my own local survey among friends - it must represent at least a million opinions - and have only encountered one man who wants the programmes to be eliminated and replaced with adverts all the time.

Of course I may have got it all wrong because I am inclined to think that there is no subject other than sex about which people tell more lies. To anyone who has, as I have, been involved in making programmes - writing and presenting them - television offers an exceptional opportunity for deception. It is difficult to avoid doing so occasionally when the editing requires tidying up and simplifying.

But I doubt if I have - except once, over which I draw a veil - deliberately deceived anyone. As viewers as well as presenters, we suspend our disbelief in the interests of information, education and entertainment. But I do wonder about the stupefying mental reservations when someone as convincing as Bernard Levin appears following Hannibal's route across the Alps and talking about the equipment when in fact he is being followed and supported by a team with vehicles and refreshments and prompts, with places booked along the way and the cameras waiting. It is all the more surprising because Levin has been the terror of the phone and the meretricious. I suppose he will reveal all at the end and we shall have our confidence renewed.

A similar team must precede and accompany Russell Harty. But I leave the subject there. I find the sheer vulgarity of his programmes excruciating.

Patrick Nuttgens

Letters to the editor

Putting perks into perspective

Sir, - Bruno Giorgi (*THES*, November 1) thinks that a university lecturer would be overpaid on £13,000 per annum in view of the considerable perks he imagines to go with the job. As a university lecturer on a lot less I'd like to offer a personal counter-balance to his anecdotal evidence. Two years ago my family and I moved several hundred miles (at a net cost to ourselves of a few thousand pounds, my employer being too mean to cover even the cost of hiring a removal van) to one of the sinecures of which Mr Giorgi writes. Since then I've had to put in a conservatively estimated average 12-hour day, working under unremitting pressure. I compete for the external funding without which I would cease to exist as a scientist in a ruthless peer-review system which currently funds (and then only in part) about 17 per cent of projects submitted in my field of research. Is this "lack of academic accountability"? The pay is simply inadequate to support a small family with modest requirements (no holidays, new clothes, theatre, cinema,

eating out) isolated from extended family support (baby-sitters are expensive) and with an absentee, apparently workaholic wage-earner. The perks of this job are considerable. They consist of having to run a car for research trips and to give lifts to groups of students; maintain a private telephone line for emergency calls; dine and entertain visiting seminar speakers; fund external examiners' receptions; hire baby-sitters; subscribe to two journals and three professional societies. Any legitimate travel expenses I claim diminish my power to meet one vital contractual responsibility: they come out of my meagre departmental consumable allowance ironically labelled "research". With the possible exception of national access to cheap sports facilities for which I have no time, I receive none of the "perks" Mr Giorgi mentions, nor would I want them. I'm not aware of enhanced social prestige but if there's any way of realizing its cash value I'd be pleased to learn of it. I haven't been struck by the deferential attitude of my bank manager, for

example. I personally don't resort to petty crime, but even if it's as widespread as Mr Giorgi suggests, one would have to do quite a lot of illegal photocopying and steal fairly substantial amounts of stationery for these activities to bring the kind of financial savings that result in other quite ordinary jobs from owning, say, a company car. The exception I take to Mr Giorgi's remarks is increased by his having written from a business address - clearly a case of a comfortable, leisured critic in the groves of private industry passing uninformed judgement on the fiercely competitive world of a university lecturer. Does Hoskyns Group Ltd really employ Mr Giorgi to write such letters to *THE THES*? I'm quite sure Leeds University doesn't employ me to spend time on such self-indulgence. Yours faithfully, on Sunday morning and his own notepaper,

JOHN F. ALLEN
16 Rochester Terrace,
Headingley, Leeds.

Church teaching and the state

Sir, - It isn't every day that one has the opportunity to cross swords with the editor of *THE THES*, the Bishop of London and the Prime Minister in the letter, but your editorial, "Church and State" (November 1), is so Byzantine in its interpretation of events that it should be re-titled, "The Case of the Missing Chapel - An all-star cast". According to your analysis, the College of St Mark and St John along with other "voluntary" colleges on whose behalf the Bishop of London has now written so strongly to the Prime Minister, was the recipient of double messages from the Church. Sensing a declining commitment, it "turned itself into a first-rate community college and abandoned plans to build a monumental chapel".

What is so intriguing about this version of the plot is the monumental chapel that was never built. As an alternative reading might be that the college decided not to build a chapel because it knew there were insufficient Christians among staff and students to fill it. As a lecturer involved with the college for the past seven years, I would estimate the college's level of spiritual intensity as being about the same as the polytechnic's - although the latter has six chaplains to the college's one.

Nor is it clear from your editorial exactly what is meant by a "community college". The College of St Mark and St John is officially a college of higher education which runs a number of degree courses and is identical in many ways to other state institutions doing similar work. It is not primarily a community college nor a Christian college. Like the monumental chapel, the "first-rate community college" is a little illusory.

The real tragedy of this script over the past decade is that the college courses are complementary with those of the neighbouring polytechnic, which has concentrated on science and technology. Ten years ago the DES tried to persuade the two institutions to share their resources in the manner, one might say, of the loaves and the fishes. But this did not appeal to the college. The result has been to perpetuate the "two cultures" division of the 1950s into the 1980s with a consequent impoverishment of curriculum.

In the last century the Church played an active and important role in teacher training for reasons which were never entirely altruistic. That time is now past. A Christian view forward might be for the state to donate its buildings to the church for education, religion and the arts were maintained - and there were no redundancies.

Yours sincerely,
DR JOHN DANIEL,
Head of Humanities,
Plymouth Polytechnic.

Out of time

Sir, - Were any of your readers perplexed at the strange chronology operating in Philip Thody's *Don's Diary* (*THES*, October 23)? Eleven o'clock occurs twice, and 14.00 intrudes between 14.27 and 14.28.

The explanation is simple. Professor Thody is working like mad on a lecture on Proust, and has evidently turned himself into that creature which Proust's narrator himself became: "l'homme affranchi de l'ordre du temps". Well done!

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD BALES,
Lecturer in French,
The Queen's University of Belfast.

of individual students. In the meantime the ESRC is imposing punishment for something which no one considers to be a crime. Does this mean, though, that the ESRC is out of step with the awarding institutions and their potential graduates? Probably not. The ESRC might also see the traditional PhD as an irrelevant and an indulgence and in this way its funding and opinion. Students could then do the real thing whatever that is. Yours faithfully,
TERRY DAMMERY,
187 Rutlish Road, Sheffield.

When funding hits zero level ...



Sir, - I was pleased to see that your front page (*THES*, November 1) gave us all an opportunity to inspect the formulae, suitably displayed on Professor Hanham's blackboard, as the basis of the proposed new funding policy for universities.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{But if } A &= T + G + S + I + GI + R \\ \text{and } A &= T + R + S \\ \text{then } 0 &= G + I + GI \end{aligned}$$

which in algebraic terms has confirmed what many of us already suspected, namely that: Government Grant (G) + Investment Income (I) + Gift Income (GI) will not add up to very much.

Yours faithfully,
R. E. RAWLES,
Lecturer in Psychology,
University College, London.

Free for all?

Sir, - In the letter "Free speech on campus" (*THES*, October 25), you describe as "good certainly" the fact that the leader of Britain's most inoffensive political party was able to complete a speech at the Polytechnic of North London without being interrupted. Really? To me your leader proved how far the movement against free speech has gone, because you bothered to mention it. Surely his right to make that speech should have been taken for granted.

Yours sincerely,
CHRISTOPHER WHITESIDE,
Chairman, Conservative Student Affairs Research Group,
41 Queens Crescent, St Albans.

Sir, - In your leader "Free Speech on Campus" you observe that threats to

elsewhere. High PhD submission rates do not appear to be necessary for the granting of status to the awarding body. After all, the Institute of Education is still considered to be prestigious for staff and students alike while yet having one of the lowest rates in the country. Even the London School of Economics is lingering near the bottom - strange for an institution whose reputation rests on its social scientific scholarship.

Similarly, at a more particular level, institutions don't convey a great deal of concern in their PhD students about the importance of their task. My own

free speech come from many directions, several more menacing than chanting demonstrators. This is borne out by the item on page 6 headed "Academics bar South Africa". Twenty-six South African scholars, "several of whom are major figures in the anti-apartheid movement" are not being allowed to attend the forthcoming world archaeological congress at the behest, apparently, of students and AUT members of Southampton University. What price free speech now? £100,000. The British executive committee should re-read *Major Barbara*.

Yours etc.
J. G. WATSON,
University of Oxford Institute of Economics and Statistics,
St Cross Building,
Manor Road, Oxford.

experience is of being a tolerated irrelevance. It is not unusual to have no private study or storage space, to have never met any of the professors in the faculty and to wait over a year between submission and award. It takes a very insensitive person to miss the message that a PhD is of interest to no one but the writer.

So why all the fuss about submission rates? In an increasingly utilitarian and pragmatic society, people do what is needed. If PhDs were important in any scheme of things then submission rates would be up. Driven by status-seeking institutions and the personal ambition

V-Cs call for radical salary shake-up

by David Jobbins
and Olga Wojtas

Radical plans for a shake-up of the university salary structure were circulated to vice chancellors this week. The proposals, designed to achieve greater local flexibility and introduce performance appraisal, were sent to universities on the eve of today's emergency council called by the Association of University Teachers which will decide whether to ballot its 30,000 members on strike action over this year's pay claim.

The key changes sought by the vice chancellors are:

- Replacement of the existing lecturer and senior lecturer scales by four shorter scales.
- Individual universities to pay staff in line with differing local and academic circumstances.
- Abolition of the senior/junior ratio

First open access link is forged

by Felicity Jones

The first comprehensive consortium to open access for adults into higher education by credit transfer arrangements between university and polytechnic is being planned in Manchester.

The Consortium for Advanced Continuing Education and Training (CONTACT), which includes Manchester University and Polytechnic, Salford University and the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, hopes to start early next year.

The group has the support of the Department of Education and Science but has written to the National Advisory Body and the University Grants Committee for funds to staff and set up an office based in the city's commercial heart.

It envisaged that a student would enrol with one of the four institutions but could accumulate credit on modules at any of the others which would count towards the final degree.

The initiative is aimed at rationalising part-time degrees on a more cost-effective basis and increasing mature entrants' share of the places. Mr Keith Drake, Manchester University's director of part-time education, said they aimed to improve access to part-time education and to make the provision of continuing education more economical.

"There is already much collaboration but on an ad hoc basis. There are a lot of advantages for mature students in this proposal who are denied access because of the nature of the binary system", said Mr Drake.

'Draconian' ESRC blacklist comes under fire

by Jon Turney

The Economic and Social Research Council has a fight on its hands with several of the institutions named last week in its PhD submission blacklist.

Universities and polytechnics among the 14 barred from ESRC studentships for two years because their latest PhD submission rates fell below 10 per cent, object variously to the measures taken, the figures used, and the manner of the announcement. The most combative reaction this week came from Sir James Lighthill, provost of University College, London, who called the ESRC decision outrageous, repugnant to natural justice and possibly illegal.

Queen's University in Belfast said the council's figures were "a gross distortion of the true picture" for the university. Professor Alan Kennedy of the psychology department at Dundee University also criticised the surprise announcement: "They have simply jumped from the first of their possible sanctions to the last and most draconian," he said.

The council's letter to vice chancellors and principals affected by the ban invites them to draw any special extenuating circumstances to the ESRC's attention by next month. Seven of the 14 institutions - University College,

with the number of top jobs determined locally.

- Introduction of criteria for assessment of lecturers' performance.
- Longer probationary periods of five years.

Mr Brian Taylor, secretary general of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals, said: "We are seeking flexibility within a national framework. This is not the abandonment of a national framework to local anarchy."

The CVCP has asked universities to respond by December and hopes to hold informal discussions with the AUT in the meantime. But there are no signs that the union is prepared to move on the 1985 pay claim and its structural proposals will make a vote for a ballot on up to two one-day strikes in the new year all the more likely.

In the public sector union leaders are expecting an attempt this weekend to delay ratification of a joint report on

structural reform which could mean that thousands of polytechnic and college lecturers may not get a 2 per cent pay rise due on December 1. The joint report which has been endorsed by the executive of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, goes to the union's national council this weekend but there may be a move to ensure it is discussed by the union's 14 regions before final ratification.

If there is a delay it may be February before it can be ratified and lecturers receive the extra 2 per cent. One senior official said: "Given the character of the report this would be regrettable." The report identifies a number of issues including removing structural anomalies, replacement of the grading of courses systems and parity for part-timers but makes clear that any firm proposals will be subject to normal collective bargaining.

There is no detailed recipe for economies. The report merely ack-

nowledges the employers' concern to improve effectiveness and efficiency while the unions' right to seek better terms and conditions is also recognised.

Scotland's five tertiary education unions are today discussing joint action after the last failure to agree a pay settlement. There has already been a number of one-day strikes in individual further education colleges, and one option being considered is a national one-day strike.

During a 20-minute meeting of the Scottish Joint Negotiating Committee for further education, staff refused a management pay offer of 5.9 per cent. This offer included 5.6 per cent back-dated to April, with an additional 1.4 per cent from January on condition that all industrial action ceased and staff committed themselves to "speeding progress" on implementing common conditions of service for local authority colleges, central institutions and colleges of education.

Poly orders disciplinary inquiry

by Karen Gold

A disciplinary inquiry into the conduct of academic staff in the Leeds Polytechnic fine art department will be held as soon as possible, a special meeting of the governors agreed this week. A review body set up by the governors to investigate fine art presented a report containing allegations of unprofessional conduct by some staff, including drunkenness, sexual harassment and racism, serious failures in course management, and inadequate responses by the polytechnic directorate.

The governors accepted recommendations that the directorate, academic board and staff should review procedures and practice, particularly in student induction, teaching and course review; that staff-student consultations and student welfare systems should be improved; and that the city council's policies on equal opportunities and racism awareness should be implemented in the polytechnic.

Councillor Geoff Driver, chairman of the governors and of Leeds education committee, said the governors' meeting had heard from the directorate of steps taken to remedy some of the deficiencies noted in the report.

"The governors agreed that the good name of the institution and the professional reputation of its staff working in fine art would be best protected by the holding of a disciplinary inquiry into the allegations of unprofessional conduct made against a very small number of staff," he said.

No allegations in the report are attributed to individual students, or made against named members of staff.

A spokesman for the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education said that the union still had substantial objections to procedures before the governing body meeting this week, but was satisfied that the governors were now taking all aspects of the position seriously.

De La Salle's last hope

Last minute representations to Secretary of State Sir Keith Joseph and Mr Peter Brooke to reconsider a merger proposal between De La Salle College, Manchester, and the Liverpool Institute of Higher Education have been made in a bid to revive the college which is scheduled for closure.

This week the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education urged Sir Keith to support the merger proposal, drawing his attention to the strong argument in favour of maintaining a voluntary college which could cater to the needs of the Roman Catholic community and Catholic schools in the area.

Natho's decision to address Sir Keith directly on the matter comes in the wake of the committee of the National Advisory Body's recommended rejection of the proposal.

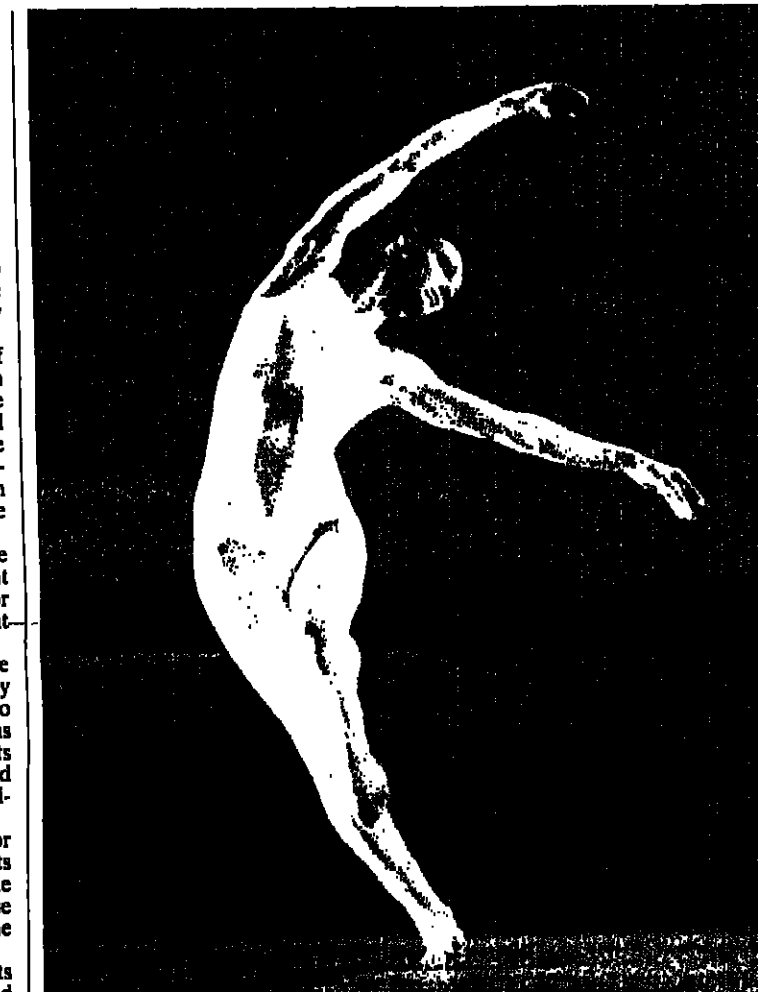
Voluntary Sector Consultative Council chairman, Dr David Harrison, met with Mr Brooke on October 17 to convey VSCC's distress over the NAB committee decision, and renewed representation was made to Mr Brooke by the auxiliary bishop of Cardiff, the Rt Rev Daniel Mullins this week.

Students fail to save department

Aberdeen University students have failed to win a reprieve for the department of religious studies.

Mr Stephen Carter, president of Aberdeen's Students' Representative Council, presented a petition to the court from all the department's students protesting against what they claim is a decision to close it.

The petition expressed particular concern that some students who came to Aberdeen to take a religious studies degree would now be unable to do so. But the court ruled its earlier proposal, now approved by the senate, that the department will continue until September 1987, with its future being reviewed during 1986/87. "The review will be of a non-existent department," said Mr Carter.



Professional dancers at the London Contemporary Dance Theatre will break new ground at the end of this month when they receive the first honours degree in contemporary dance validated by Kent University. Three dancers Anna Frankenhauer (above), Charlotte Kirkpatrick and Patrick Harding-fer have been awarded first class honours in the part-time degree for which 72 per cent is practical assessment. The graduates will take part in a special performance at Canterbury on 27 November which will include Robert North's *The Annunciation* just before the degree ceremony.

DON'S DIARY

Modernism course. It's excellent. Later afternoon, a visit from a personal tutor who complains about the lack of women's group activities on campus and in the area. Early evening, and until the early hours of the morning, is spent finishing off the lecture on ideology.

THURSDAY

Even less sleep than the night before; by midweek, I can't switch my head off when it hits the pillow. I'm pleased with a session on Kipling, which strengthens my belief that he deserves much more attention as a modernist. An hour and a half of King Lear, then the lecture after lunch. I still can't gauge the effect of lectures - did that silence signify interest, bewilderment or stupefied boredom? The shape seems OK to me, anyway, and I emerge into the fresh air of a bright autumn afternoon feeling fairly satisfied and wondering when the lack of sleep will catch up with me.

Concentrating on finding the campus laundrette where I can take an enormous pile of neglected washing, it catches up with me: I trip over a speed bump in the middle of the road and fall flat out, sending Lawrence's *The Prussian Officer* scattering its torn pages across campus. An amused student picks me up. Washing completed, I write my letter to the hallowed university in order to "prosecute" my research (his word - the tone seemed appropriate). At dinner in the college canteen, a woman taps me on the shoulder: "Excuse me, but it's before E except after C". She was at the lecture. I am stricken with horror: was it on the board or on the handout? The Express headline looms: "Sir Keith sacks Poly lecturer who could not spell". In the evening, I turn to my new craze, rediscovered after nine years: Chaucer!

I type some bibliographies, then head off into the city with a colleague to see a landlord about a flat. This landlord is human. Most have worn camel-hair overcoats and one offered me a place in a luxury house sharing with "actors from *Crossroads*". The flat sounds promising, and we round off the evening with a couple of drinks and a meal at the *Everyman* theatre.

TUESDAY

My research day - no teaching. After a largely wasted morning of ineffectual pottering, a colleague gives me a lift into town after lunch. I breeze into the university library to do some work, only to be chastised by the porters. "Only members of the university allowed" etc. I go next door to the senate, to appeal. They send me back to see the librarian. The porters won't let me in to see him. Back to the senate, and a telephone call to the librarian, who graciously confers his blessing pending a letter of appeal, but advises me "Are you one of those young-looking lecturers?" to develop a grey and distinguished appearance or the porters won't believe I'm an academic.

I try not to gloat as I breeze into the library entrance for the third time in half an hour, but feel that an afternoon spent writing a lecture on forms of ideology is some measure of revenge on this establishment. Research? Well, there's a PhD left literally in mid-air, and a nascent article; but this is my first full-time job, and there are these seven courses. Early evening, I go to see the flat, which is fine, and I agree to take it. So I trundle back on the two-bus journey to my temporary home on campus, happier, but worried about tomorrow's session on *The Turn of the Screw*.

WEDNESDAY

I've slept very badly, and it's a full morning of teaching. *The Turn of the Screw* goes very well. However, several previous experiences of teaching *Mansfield Park* have obviously failed to remind me of the inevitable, initial student response. All very well to say that it gets better with every reading; but what about the desperate gloom of the first encounter? Can't we make some concessions to the excitement factor? Fortunately, with the help of a small-group strategy and a few jokes at Fanny's expense, some good work gets done.

After lunch, I avoid a) a disorganised game of soccer with some poly lecturers and b) a department meeting on the subject of the part-time degree, in order to watch a video of Robert Hughes' *The Shock of the New* with some students on our

Jeff Wallace

The author is lecturer in English at Liverpool Polytechnic.

Review delay 'upset Tories'

by David Jobbins

Conservative backbenchers are in disarray over student grants because of the Government's failure to produce its review of financial support, claims the National Union of Students. Originally expected last summer, it has yet to appear, and its fate still hangs in the balance. Ministers have yet to decide whether it is worth publishing the consultative document without the loans element which was thwarted by the Cabinet last summer. NUS has canvassed all 650 MPs on its demands for a restoration of grants to their 1979 level, a minimum allowance for all 16-year-olds in education, and opposition to loans.

Predictably Labour MPs were quick to pledge their support. As well as individual responses Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock this week pledged the support of all 209 Labour MPs for NUS's demands for "decent grants."

The Social Democratic Party has responded to NUS's approach to Mr Phil Woolas, calls it "deafening silence." But the most significant discovery for NUS is the attitudes of Conservative MPs. "Some are very positive about our ideas while others hark back to their own college days when the grant was worth far more than it is now," Mr Woolas said. NUS also claims a strong feeling against loans, despite the enthusiasm in some quarters at the time of the about-turn by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science, on tuition fees a year ago. Conservative backbenchers that better-off parents should contribute to tuition fees that Sir Keith announced his review of student financial support. Some 130 Conservatives have replied to the NUS approach - most non-committally. A number including

Mr Robert Kedy, Mr Harry Greenaway, Mr Stephen Dorrell, Mr Keith Best, and Miss Janet Footes indicated their opposition to loans, while Mr Piers Merchant who sits for one of the "student marginals" identified by NUS has said he agrees with their argument but feels that the prospect of loans must be kept open. Many Conservatives have indicated their frustration that the review of financial support has failed to materialize. Dr Gerard Vaughan told NUS: "I asked Sir Keith if he would come out with his review of student grants quite soon - I had in mind before the summer recess - but for some extraordinary reason he said he was unable to do this."

The results of NUS's approach are being communicated to local student unions who will tackle particularly the 60 MPs whose majorities are less than the estimated student vote in their constituencies.

Summing up the finance verbiage

by Peter Aspden

Academics, journalists, civil servants and even Members of Parliament find important financial documents produced by the Government incomprehensible, claims a study commissioned by the Chartered Association of Certified Accountants. The study, of financial reports produced in the 1984/85 parliamentary session, written by Mr Andrew Lickierman and Mr Pauline Cressney of the London Business School, found many details to be obscure and badly presented.

Despite an increase in parliamentary interest in the reports, the number of MPs who make significant use of them still remains very small, the study's authors claim.

Mr Lickierman said there was frequently too much financial information produced by the Government, and at the wrong times. He favoured annual department reports produced just after the budget, to replace the current autumn statement, public expenditure white paper and supply estimates.

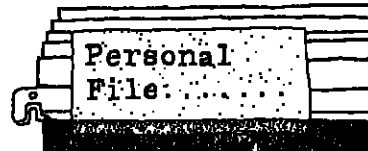
The new study follows a similar report produced by Mr Lickierman and Mr Peter Vass last July which made the initial criticisms of the Government documents. Although that report was welcomed by the treasury select committee, some of its findings have been ignored. "They have had a go, but there is still a very long way to go," said Mr Lickierman. "These papers ought to have a bigger readership because the decisions taken on finance are an important part of the democratic process."

Among the reforms advocated by the previous study to be implemented is the inclusion in this year's autumn statement of the next three years' expenditure plans. *Public Expenditure Documents presented to Parliament: Evaluation of Form and Structure 1984/85*, by Andrew Lickierman and Pauline Cressney, published by the Chartered Association of Certified Accountants, £6.95.



How they dare say that is information: government financial unintelligible.

Youthful zeal from an old campaigner



by Carolyn Dempster

Articulate, outspoken, optimistic, an actively involved educationist. One could elaborate at length on the qualities Professor Walter James CBE will bring to bear in his capacity as chairman of the newly appointed National Advisory Council for the Youth Service.

But it is his enthusiastic support for innovation, the "youthful" zeal he displays in discussing the attributes of youth workers and the immediacy of their applied learning that is his most striking characteristic.

At a time when many a university does not contemplate retirement, or a reduced workload, Professor James at 62 is committing himself more fully to community and youth work. He cannot wait to grapple with some of the issues and problems he has encountered over the years and get the council's work off the ground.

"One of the great virtues of the youth service is that it has taken those not necessarily at the top end of the education success story and given them confidence - sufficient confidence to build up competence by making the most of opportunities offered by other agencies," he says.

Surrendering his position as professor of educational studies at the Open University in January this year in order to devote more time to the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work and the Community Projects Foundation (of which he is respectively chairman and trustee), Professor James is well aware that much remains to be done to enhance the youth service image.

He sees the youth service's marginality as a factor in its favour. "Perhaps because the YS has an air of being marginal, it has been able to exploit that perceived marginality by being at the forefront of considerable innovation."

With the advent of a likely change in teachers' roles over the next half decade and growing pressure for people with the necessary skills to relate to young people, there is much room for



expansion of the service - particularly the kind of provision demanded by a pluralist society. The role played by youth leaders in recent disturbances - attempting to diffuse the situation and make people aware of community grievances - was a valuable one which needed to be identified and encouraged. At the same time, and nobody wanted to see the YS as a fire-fighting service, he added.

Unwilling to emphasize problem areas until the full council (expected to be 20 members) meets later this year, Professor James nonetheless approaches his advisory task with a sense of urgency. An apprenticeship in such diverse advisory roles at consultant in adult education and community development to the government of Seychelles in 1973, adviser to the office of education of the World Council of Churches from 1974 to 1976, on social planning to the State of Bahrain in 1975, and membership of the DES committees on the youth and community work as well as the BBC PE advisory council from 1971 to 1975 has meant the professor has more than well equipped for the position.

He is perhaps fortunate that he has such a thorough grounding from adult education to teacher training, further education and in the youth service to view the future role of YS in a broad perspective.

It contributes to his open-minded, optimistic approach - not surprising for someone who lists "living" the top of his recreations.

Union wants campaign voice

College lecturers' union leaders are angry that the public sector's voice may be squeezed out of a drive to bring home the importance of higher education to commerce and industry.

Arrangements for Mr Diana Warwick, general secretary of the Association of University Teachers to be the sole speaker at a fringe meeting organized for the Confederation of British Industry conference in Harrogate later this month are being challenged by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

Its executive meets today and is expected to hear a report from general secretary Mr Peter Dawson on his efforts to secure a higher profile for the public sector at the meeting, which is

organized under the umbrella of the joint unions campaign for higher education.

If he is not successful, the executive is virtually certain to recommend that its representatives at the CBI boycott its meeting and refuse to help meet its expenses. Such a move would be a serious blow to the unity of the campus unions in the run up to their week of action later this month.

A compromise put forward at a meeting of the seven unions involved, failed to meet NATE's anxieties that a public sector speaker was not included. It feels that a polytechnic director might be a suitable speaker to put the public sector's case.



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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

Plus change - staff at Newcastle University have uncovered an appeal poster which was issued immediately after the First World War, but would not look out of place today.

Researchers invited to bid for joint defence grants

By Ion Turney
Science Correspondent

Academic researchers have just over a month to submit applications for the first round of awards under the new joint grants scheme run by the Ministry of Defence and the five research councils, formally announced this week.

The MoD will put up £5 million from its £83 million annual research budget to pay for up to half the cost of grants which meet the research councils' usual peer review criteria and are in areas with defence significance. Applications for the first round of awards must be in by December 16 for grants starting in April next year. Work for any of the five research councils is theoretically eligible. In practice, most of the money will go to researchers holding grants from the NERC or the Science and Engineering Research Council.

The MoD has listed 21 areas where applications will be especially welcome. They include sensors, signal processing, electronics, space, acoustics, aerodynamics and oceanography. The work will be unclassified, and intellectual property rights will remain with the researchers, as is now standard practice for research council awards. Researchers will have to submit final reports on their work to the ministry as well as the relevant research council.

Mr Norman Lamont, minister of state for defence procurement, said at the launch of the scheme the money available from the MoD side could be increased if it were successful. The £5 million spent by the ministry will be an addition to the £10 million a year already spent on directed defence projects in university research. Mr Lamont said the Government would continue to examine ways in which defence spending could contribute towards maintaining the scientific capability of universities.

OU must stress need for cash, says v-c

The Open University must reinforce its message to the Government that adequate funding is needed to fulfil its national role in the 1990s, says Dr John Horlock, the vice chancellor.

Commenting in his annual report on the OU's struggle to maintain provision, he says the main task will be to hammer home the argument about adequate funding.

Dr Horlock says of the drastic reduction in grant during 1984: "I fully understand that a Government elected to reduce public expenditure should

attempt to implement its election pledge, but it is an economic nonsense for it to call for more post-experience vocational education and then stony adequate funds to the one national distance learning institution that is ideally placed to undertake the task."

Reviewing the backing the university received from the independent visiting committee appointed to examine the OU's financial situation, Dr Horlock says: "On almost every major point the report backed the case we made; it gave the university a consider-

Saga slips in the ratings ...

by David Jobbins

The continuing drama of Liverpool's financial crisis has slipped down the list of talking points among students at the city's polytechnic.

Impending doom, even disruption of their courses before Christmas, barely seizes their attention. Posters for union societies and entertainments far outnumber the terse statements of policy by the joint shop stewards' committee on the polytechnic's noticeboards, while newspaper sports pages are more carefully scanned than stories of the latest closure rumour.

"Students are now putting the closure rumours they have picked up in the local press and on the radio out of their minds - they have heard it all before," says union president Paul Beesley.

Students were, he thinks, reassured by rector John McKenzie's assurances on resources and an external validation given to a union meeting at the beginning of the year.

That meeting, perhaps the largest in the union's history and attended by some 2,000 students, affirmed the union's support for the city council and its campaign for jobs and services.

Because of its support for the Labour line, the union has not been pressing hard for its money from the city - as a result has found running its affairs extremely difficult.

The crisis in Liverpool

"We are surviving at the moment," says Paul Beesley. "We are paying staff wages, which in turn keeps open the trading side of the union. But clubs and societies are operating on a shoe-string budget provided by their own members."

With guaranteed loans from the National Union of Students and other student unions totalling more than £20,000, the union is confident it can pay wages for December and may be able to keep going longer, although it is nearing the limit of its overdraft facility of £45,000 (reduced from £30,000 because of the crisis) and relying on bills from the Inland Revenue, and for valued added tax and electricity among other creditors not being pressed.

"If any of these came down heavily we would find ourselves in a very difficult position," Paul Beesley said.

He makes no secret of his personal support for the city council, although makes it clear he is not a full-blown Militant supporter. Indeed on his 15-strong executive there is only one Militant supporter - but with the exception of one Conservative and one Independent they all back the council.

If the students are sanguine about the future, the lecturers are less so. They see the prospect of resource shortages hitting the teaching effort in the short term, and while they are confident that these can be averted or overcome, fear that the long-term effect on morale will be damaging. And a legal problem rears its head. Members of the main union, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education have been advised that if they are not paid at the end of November they cannot continue to teach - whatever their personal desire that students should not suffer.

This bodes ill for one of the students' main hopes - that teachers will follow the example of caretakers and work voluntarily if education is declared an emergency service. Equally there is no carte blanche to accept other contingency plans to minimize the effect on students - for example tinkering with the timetable - which might conflict with conditions of service agreements.

While many staff are privately outraged at the rector's decision to leave the polytechnic, their union leaders are anxious to convey the view that the institution's future does not depend on him alone.

"There is a lot of ill-feeling," one lecturer said.

... while one player finds a new role

by Karen Gold

Mr John McKenzie, the present rector of Liverpool Polytechnic, is to become the first head of the London Institute, the consortium of art and design colleges which officially comes into existence on January 1, 1986.

Mr McKenzie will not take up the post until the end of this financial year by which time Liverpool's 1985 cash crisis should be over. He was appointed to Liverpool in March 1984, just before the city council embarked on its previous deficit budget.

The institution he will head exists in name only at present. Its member colleges include for certain the art schools - Central, Camberwell, Chelsea and St Martin's - and three specialist colleges: Fashion, Printing and the college for the distributive trades.

In addition, the London College of Furniture and Central School of Speech and Drama are debating whether to join. Even without them it will be the largest art and design institution in Western Europe - with 29 sites and over 6,000 students - and will be maintained by the Inner London Education Authority.

Mr McKenzie, who went to Liverpool when its validation by the



Mr John McKenzie: Headhunted

Council for National Academic Awards as well as its finances were under threat, will have the job of welding the colleges together without losing their identities or reputations, in the face of national pressure to cut courses in art and design.

He was headhunted, together with another shortlisted candidate from industry, after two sets of advertisements failed to attract applicants with the experience ILEA required.

He is known to have been increasingly unhappy at Liverpool, as spending decisions were removed

from his control to rest with the city council. The polytechnic's board of governors recently passed a unanimous motion supporting the poly's right to manage its own finances - something Mr McKenzie was guaranteed when he arrived there from Bolton Institute of Higher Education where he was principal. He has a previous association with one of the Institute's specialist colleges: he was head of business and general studies at the London College of Printing from 1975 to 1978.

The college lecturers' union at the polytechnic attacked the timing of Mr McKenzie's decision to leave as "unhelpful" and called for his departure "without delay".

Natthe officers feel that a collective leadership under an acting rector should be established to tackle the NAB submission for 1986/87, next autumn's CNAA institutional review and the polytechnic's own administrative framework.

But Mr John Nelson, one of the deans in the polytechnic's management team, said that the corporate style of leadership instituted by Mr McKenzie would be maintained.

The chairman of the polytechnic governors, Mr Paul Luckock, said a search for a new rector would be set in motion immediately.

Information gap poses ethnic study barrier

Black community perceptions of further education provision have been distorted by the serious "information gap" which exists between colleges and the community, two Further Education Unit-commissioned surveys in Bradford and south London have revealed.

Lack of information about further education in general, about particular colleges and all but a narrow range of courses, constituted the major barrier for black people contemplating entry to the system, the reports found.

In south London, where the three-month project was carried out by the Open College (OCSL), it was seen as being the province of an education elite who possessed the necessary paper qualifications for entry.

Common to students, teachers, members and leaders of community groups was the perception that lack of academic qualifications posed a barrier to study. In boroughs where unemployment is above the national average and rising, students interviewed held the conviction that FE courses were either irrelevant to their needs, or inaccessible.

Overt racism was not found to be a barrier, but the survey did disclose a concentration of ethnic groups in certain subject areas.

In Bradford, the project was conducted by the Bradford and Ilkley Community College - an institution committed to the needs of the multi-cultural community it serves. Respons-

dents were almost exclusively drawn from the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.

Misunderstanding was found to be the basic cause of the misperception among Asian girls and their parents that the college was an unsafe environment, "full of temptations" and less controlled than school.

The common ground covered by both projects, and common findings - lack of information, inappropriate marketing by colleges, apparent discrimination against ethnic students in particular courses - sets out a clear agenda for action by local education authorities in consultation with black communities, said Mr Jack Mansell, chief officer of the FEU.

Arts

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Disabled project faces crisis

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

A unique Scottish project which uses microelectronics to help the handicapped will end next March because of lack of funds.

And Dr Phil Odor, researcher in computing and education for the Edinburgh University project, believes its search for finance has been hampered because no single organization has overall responsibility for its maintenance.

The CALL (Communication Aids for Learners in Lothian) centre was set up three years ago to help handicapped children and adults to communicate using microelectronic aids. It covers health, education and social work as well as being simultaneously a research organization and service unit for the handicapped.

Central Government has no funds for joint research and service work, says Dr Odor, and there is no statutory mechanism for collaborative funding by the Scottish Education Department, and Scottish Home and Health Department.

Local Conservative MP Mr Alex Fletcher, former Scottish Office minister for industry and education, has tried to intervene, urging the Government to fund the project since approaches to local authorities and the private sector have failed.

The centre's pump-priming funding came from a variety of sources, including Lothian region urban renewal unit, the Department of Trade and Industry, Edinburgh University and IBM.

The centre has been largely dependent on a £35,000 research grant from the SED since the initial funding ran out in March, but Scottish Education minister Mr Alan Stewart has said the SED cannot finance the centre permanently.

"What concerns me more than anything is what will happen to the people involved after March, not just the handicapped but the teachers and therapists," Dr Odor told *The Times*.

Tories rethink cash priorities

by David Jobbins

Student demand should determine how money is allocated to universities and colleges, according to a group of radical Conservative MPs.

They argue that institutions and courses which attract the students should get cash, rather than decisions over priorities being taken during "horse-trading" sessions in the University Grants Committee and other bodies.

In a report published by the Conservative Political Centre, the MPs say that central funding leads to bureaucratic decisions about where cuts must fall, made in the interests of the "producers" rather than the needs of parents and students.

"Students could either take a fee certificate with them to the university or college they chose and were accepted for, or the disbursement could be made centrally on the basis of

numbers. Either way more resources would be allocated to the courses and institutions which attracted the students and less to those which did not."

The shape and size of courses and institutions would then be determined by the actual wishes of students and parents rather than by decisions taken by highly placed individuals, according to the MPs.

The proposal is part of a package covering education, health, employment and housing, designed to widen individual choice and give the Government the radical policies they believe it needs to win the next general election.

Several of the MPs have close links with the Federation of Conservative Students and are firmly on the right of the party.

In their view the idea of student loans is far from dead and they say that in many other countries the alleged

problems have been satisfactorily solved.

They say the Government should reduce the grant element of the maintenance award and increase the proportion made available through the banks as loans. This would encourage responsible decision-making and lower students' dependence on their parents.

"It elevates the importance of higher education and introduces economic and commercial calculation into decisions made about it," they claim.

The MPs, who include Mr Michael Fallon (Dartington), Mr Michael Forsyth (Stirling), Mr Neil Hamilton (Tatton) and Mr Gerald Howarth (Cannock and Burntwood) also call for action on the political activities of publicly-funded student unions.

No Turning Back: Conservative Political Centre, 32 Smith Square London SW1 3HH. Price £1.95.

Autism centre opened at poly

An international autism information centre has been established by the National Autistic Society and the Tyne and Wear Antisocial Society in Sunderland. Polytechnics' faculty of pharmaceutical sciences. The database contains details of research, books and articles on autism for use by researchers and teachers.

Heating halved

Heating bills on a typical three-bedroom house have been halved by Open University researchers funded by the Science and Engineering Council. They used high levels of insulation, solar heating and efficient gas boilers in trials on 177 houses, to achieve average savings of £115.

NUS referendum

Glasgow university students will hold a referendum next Tuesday on affiliating to the National Union of Students. A general meeting voted for the referendum by 400 to 380. Glasgow is the only Scottish university which has never been affiliated to the NUS. Currently only three of Scotland's eight universities, Aberdeen, Stirling and Strathclyde, are in the union.

Engineering prize

The Council for National Academic Awards has instituted a £500 award for the best engineering project designed by a student or group of students on CNAA degree courses. The award, named after former council chairman Sir Denis Rook, chairman of British Gas, is for a project which most aptly matches design with practical engineering.

SERC's new man

Mr Robert Horton, a managing director of British Petroleum, has been appointed to the Science and Engineering Research Council to replace Sir Francis Tombs, who has become chairman of the Advisory Council for Applied Research and Development.

Three's company, four's a crowd

The eternal quest for political balance becomes ever more elusive in today's three-or-is-it-four party system, as vice chancellors found to their cost during their recent London conference on the alternative Green Paper.

Introducing the day's political forum, chairman Maurice Shock (Leicester vice chancellor) asked Peter Brooke (Con), Giles Radice (Lab) and Anne Sofer (SDP) to join him on stage. The three protagonists rose from their seats in the audience, as did the immediately recognizable Clement Freud (Lib, bemused).

Blushing conference organizers immediately scrambled to hoist an extra chair on stage, thereby averting a fascinating political version of a well-known party game. Finally all four pundits (each with a chair) were given five minutes to address the audience.

Mr Freud, visibly relieved, even had the grace (check?) to thank the organizers for giving the Alliance "two bites of the cherry", and went on to admit that he agreed—surprise, surprise—with everything Mrs Sofer had had to say.

But there was at least one cynical member of the audience. Found on one of the chairs at the end of the conference was the following linerick:

To Sir Keith the VCs say No!
Your Green Paper's the way we won't go,
What we need is resources,
More cash for our courses,
More status and more status quo.

The leaving of Liverpool

Not a deluge maybe, but more than a trickle. Crisile-riden Liverpool lost not one but two of its top education men this week: polytechnic director John McKenzie to the new London Institute; and the city's chief inspector for schools, Tony Smith, also to the Inner London Education Authority, as chief schools inspector. The two may or may not be reassured by the comments of city council leader John Hamilton to Mr McKenzie on hearing about the London job. "You'll never work in Liverpool again", he said.

If not an arm, Leicester Polytechnic would willingly give a leg to recover its only genuine skeleton. Two days after a story in a national newspaper about the high price and growing shortage of real bones, thieves broke into the polytechnic's life sciences building and stole its prize specimen. It should be easier to identify than most: it had only one leg.

Hypothetical exercise

Can you penalize an institution that no longer exists? King's College London was one of 14 institutions achieving the least sought-after distinction in higher education—inclusion on the Economic and Social Research Council's blacklist for failing to persuade doctoral students to complete their theses.

But King's has merged with Queen Elizabeth and Chelsea Colleges, and the new institution's aggregate completion rates are above the magic 10 per cent. However, the arithmeticians in the Strand are hedging their bets, in case the school should bring down the bar on the whole institution. The original ESRC figures for King's are wrong too, they say.

Public lending hit by local authority cuts, says report

by Carolyn Dempster

Public library resources and services have been severely affected by Government-imposed financial restraints on local authorities, a major independent survey week has revealed.

The study *Public Libraries in Metropolitan Areas* conducted by Capital Planning Information on behalf of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities discovered a 20 per cent reduction in public access and the deteriorating provision of material resources directly linked to the cutbacks.

While public demand for library

services remains high, and the study shows an increase in efficient management, libraries are not expanding into areas such as new technology as rapidly as needs dictate. Staffing and the state of library buildings have also been hit by the constraints according to the study findings.

The study was commissioned because of the AMA's concern over possible lost opportunities and wasted potential in a period dominated by increasing economic and social problems. "The impression I get is of a service whose importance is becoming

increasingly recognized by local authorities but one which is being intolerably stretched by increasing demands from the public and constraints on resources", stated Mr John Crumwell, chairman of the AMA's arts and recreation committee.

In its endeavour to produce a balanced view of the state of public libraries, the report avoids a simplistic catalogue of cuts, and highlights improvements and developments. Among these is the marked rise in provision of special services to users with particular needs—noticeably

ethnic and minority groups.

This is in line with the Library Association's promotion of such services formally presented in a policy statement in the House of Commons this week. The statement, *Library and Information Services for our Multi-cultural Society*, compiled and launched in conjunction with the Commission for Racial Equality, is directed at all librarians and contains wide-ranging recommendations on staffing, training and the professional preparedness of librarians to cope with the cultural needs of different communities.

The LA proposes that services should consult with local ethnic communities, ascertain the nature and needs of the population utilizing the resources, and encourage ethnic minority groups to make full use of the facilities.

As regards staffing, the association advises people with ethnic minority origins should be encouraged to take up librarianship as a career. The employment of staff at all levels literate in English but with skills appropriate to the needs of the ethnic population, and the integration of services and materials for ethnic and cultural minorities into the basic library service.

Basic race and cultural awareness training should be part of the curriculum in professional education and training programmes.

Libraries 'bearing brunt'

by Peter Aspdren

University libraries bear the brunt of the Government's sudden and short-term changes of course in higher education policy, which have a "critical effect" on university funding, claims a national libraries' organization.

The Standing Conference of National and University Libraries (SCONUL) made the statement in its response to the Jarrett report on efficiency, adding that library funding was particularly affected by changes in planning horizons, late budgeting decisions and by crises in the overall funding of universities.

It said that libraries were especially

prone to cuts, as they represented one of the more clearly identifiable larger sums available in a university's budget after staff salaries, rates, building and other essentially committed expenditure has been earmarked.

The association also called for the establishment of a University Grants Committee libraries committee.

It said that such a committee could provide detailed advice to the UGC on the adequacy of funding for libraries, on the scope for collaboration between institutions, and upon the special technical developments which were essential for the proper rationalized growth of the university library and informa-

tion system.

The SCONUL statement urged the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals to take a greater initiative in setting up training courses for senior library staff.

● Sussex University has said it cannot implement many of the reforms urged in the Jarrett report without increasing its spending on university administration. It said in a council paper that the Jarrett proposals on streamlining planning and revising budgetary procedures would require a significant increase in the financial and general staff of the university's estates section.

Social course forced to close

Financial pressures have brought about the closure of a postgraduate social work course at Leeds University.

The one-year course offered by the department of adult and continuing education will finish next year. But the department will maintain its interest in social work, and intends to strengthen its continuing education programme in the field.

Many local agencies and the nationally based Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work appealed to the university to retain the course, but last week the university senate voted to proceed.

The course came under scrutiny as part of the university's overall financial review. Additionally, it has been adversely affected by the cutback on extramural funding imposed by the Department of Education and Science.

Closure has come about at a time when two of the four staff posts on the programme have fallen vacant. Ten years ago eight academics were involved and the course attracted about 100 students. Now student numbers are down to about 25 a year.

Professor Stuart Marriott, head of the department of adult and continuing education, said the course had proved valuable as a source of recruitment among older people entering social work from other spheres.

Deans call for leeway on embryo research

The deans of Britain's medical schools have called for a revision of the Warnock report on human fertilization and embryology, which they say should allow some research on embryos beyond the 14th day after fertilization.

They say that since 1982, when the report called for a ban on such research, work on human embryos has resulted in advances in medical knowledge and understanding in a number of areas other than human fertility.

"Whereas no current research is likely to be impeded by the 14-day rule, particularly in relation to the management of fertility problems, rapid progress in knowledge of growth factors, environmental factors, in organogenesis and the precise origin of developmental abnormalities raises serious questions of revisiting in the foreseeable future," they said.

The Warnock report recommended that research on human embryos beyond the 14th day after fertilization should be a matter for protection.

But the medical deans, who reported to the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals, said this was an over-restrictive view, and that the licensing authority established by the deans should have the power to make exceptions to the rule.



Baroness Warnock, report author

Their report said that progress in the understanding of growth factors has made a reduction in diseases in human embryos likely in the foreseeable future. "It is also becoming apparent that understanding the genetic component in some common disorders might be developed by further research on human embryos."

Universities recognized that the 14-day rule would normally be accepted, and supported the need to establish a licensing authority to overlook the controversial area.

The deans also said that in vitro fertilization was still a fairly new development, with a low success rate.

MSC stands firm on area boards structure

The Manpower Services Commission has voted to retain the structure and composition of its network of 55 area manpower boards, thwarting a bid by local authorities and education services for extended representation and an executive say in the supervision of Youth Training Schemes.

The unanimous decision means TUC and CBI representatives will continue to outweigh local authority and education sector representatives.

Arguments in support of greater autonomy for the boards were considered but rejected on the grounds that gains arising from a formal change in executive status would be minimal. In spite of criticisms that the boards have acted as little more than a rubber stamp for MSC and government decisions, it was felt the introduction of executive accountability would undermine the MSC's role.

Priority tasks include the develop-

ment of the two-year YTS as well as promotion of the MSC's equal opportunity policy.

The MSC has approved recommendations that boards should liaise with youth members of local YTS programme review teams at least twice a year; that board chairman should submit an annual progress report to the MSC chairman; that AMB's should be able to determine their own priorities to fit local requirements.

Dismissal case goes to Lords

The House of Lords is to have the final say over whether a court of law or the university visitor has the ultimate authority to decide the question of a lecturer's unfair dismissal.

The appeal to the Lords follows a judgment by the Law Lords against Bradford University, which claims that Miss Brenda Thomas, a lecturer who was allegedly dismissed in February 1983, should have her case heard by the visitor—in Bradford's

case, the Crown. The university is arguing that Miss Thomas's claim against unfair dismissal dealt with a breach of procedural steps and a breach of natural justice, both of which should come under the realm of the university visitor.

But lawyers acting for Miss Thomas claim that part of her appeal against dismissal is justifiable in law, which puts her case outside the visitor's jurisdiction.

took place before Labour had even left office—as a result of the massive inflation of those years. And indeed Houghton-type settlements themselves helped to trigger wage inflation.

The real issue is the need to reorganize teaching. Promotion for able teachers must be assured, better specialist inducements are needed throughout the salary scale as school rolls continue to fall.

There is a genuine malaise in the schools and it needs to be tackled jointly and constructively. I know tempers are up but the time has arrived when continued disruption begins to look like an irresponsible willingness to damage children's careers. It cannot be in the nation's long-term interest to opt for a simple pay expedient of this year only. It would merely throw children into turmoil again next year of the year after.

We need a better paid, higher status and performance-oriented teaching profession together with the whole nature, practice and content of education re-thought. If Sir Keith has changed over six years, the NUT is unfortunately still the same old lumbering cart horse.

Keith Hampson

The author is Conservative MP for Leeds North-West.

PARTY LINE

The lesson teachers have to learn

enjoyed greater support from parents if school-home relationships had been closer all along. They are misleading themselves, however, if they imagine that parents' anger is directed only at the Government. For a long time now the regard in which teachers were held when my father was a headmaster has been eroding.

There is an irony to this dispute—fought by the NUT to safeguard the status quo, it has made the public more aware of the inadequacies of the present system. They are more conscious of the case against teachers. Certainly, they have taken on board the fact that the teachers are relatively underpaid, compared with the police. But they know that the quality is not good enough and they now see that pay can be linked to assessment of performance. One asked me the other day whether a newspaper report was true which said that only one in four teachers was up to a good enough standard. I do not know whether that is the view of

Her Majesty's Inspectors, but every HMI report does say that teachers expect too little from their pupils. And I doubt whether the public recruitment and poor training of the 1960s is doing other than worsen the standards in the schools today.

This "industrial" dispute (what an illuminating term for teachers to adopt) is a terrible distraction from the demographic and academic adjustment that the British school system is having to undergo. The unions are delaying the reformation that must come. Is that in fact the real underlying purpose of their tenacity in this pay dispute?

Sir Keith Joseph is absolutely right to insist that there can be no substantial increases on pay until the teaching unions face up to that if the present package had been spent out in cash terms at the end of last year then the NUT might have found it impossible to wreck the package on restructuring and pay-enhancing assessment procedures.

If Sir Keith was not constructive enough early enough, the unions have no excuse now for being so cavalier. The offer made to them in September increases all salary scales. Those on scale one have had their maximum increased by 23 per cent with special promotional opportunities that could well increase levels by 41 per cent. There are to be 74,000 extra promotions allowed with new responsibility allowances. Heads would receive an extra 18 per cent at least. The package, costing £134 billion over four years on top of whatever is negotiated each year on pay is something that teachers could accept in principle.

It simply comes back to whether the NUT is seriously arguing about pay or restructuring. The hypocrisy of their pay argument was seen when the offer for this year reached nearly 7 per cent. And this Government has kept teachers' pay ahead of prices. The massive erosion of the Houghton 44 per cent real-terms loss in 1974

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Merging into a transbinary gloom...

Reports in the educational press in recent weeks have anticipated proposals for a merger between Keele University and North Staffordshire Polytechnic to create a new university which it is expected will be proposed by the working party looking into future relationships between the two institutions. It seems likely that almost all principal interests involved in higher education in the area will oppose such a proposal, certainly the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, on the basis of past experience, has the most substantial reservations about the educational implications in the present financial climate.

We are now in a better position to assess the capital and recurrent costs of transferring institutions from the public to the university sector. Experience in Northern Ireland shows that in a similar merger situation, where student numbers in each sector were broadly similar, the University Grants Committee costed the additional capital funds needed at £4.8 million and its report is already more than a year old and would need updating for inflation.

Recurrent costs have now been better exemplified following the publication by the Department of Education and Science of the funding differentials between the two sectors. On top of the allocation for research which enhances the university unit of resource (ie funding per student place) by 30 per cent there is a £400 to £500 disparity in funding for teaching purposes to the disadvantage of the public sector. However you add up the figures, the increase in resources needed is very substantial.

permanently when compared to the additional sum of £12 million currently being added to public sector resources to meet the pressing needs of the 29 polytechnics and other colleges in the rest of England. The present record of this Government does not suggest it would be willing to inject a substantial sum without a significant return. None of this spells good news for those involved in either institution.

Apart from the obvious concern for job losses which any trade union must have, the educational consequences of the proposed merger are more worrying. The public sector has a well known and established tradition of provision on a part-time as well as a full-time basis and of providing courses at a variety of levels and these are not part of the typical pattern of university work. Even were they to be carried forward into a merged institution, the concern for research postgraduate courses and other areas of university provision would provide significant competition for resources already projected to decline in real terms over the next few years. Good intentions (and even phrases in university charters) are no guarantee when faced with a bleak financial future.

There is such a current policy vacuum in respect of the binary line that it leaves the way open for a variety of initiatives to be sponsored by local or even national interest groups. It was an area of conspicuous weakness in the advice on higher education which both the National Advisory Body and the UGC tendered to the Government and it is a weakness which the Green Paper does nothing to rectify. We look forward with interest, but a great deal of scepticism, to see whether the report of the working party makes any contribution to this area.

Jean Bocock

The author is assistant secretary for higher education at Naffra.

Brooke urges 'visible improvements'

The response of universities to the external pressures imposed on them in recent years has been "remarkable", said the under-secretary of state for higher education, Mr Peter Brooke, at the conference of the political forum.

He confirmed the Government believed the British university system to be the best in the world. "But however good it is, it is our duty to try and make it even better," he added.

"Universities must learn to deal with reality, and I am pleased that they have taken steps on A.S. levels, and that their attitude to industry is showing signs of improvement. I recognize the strain which external pressures have imposed on you all, and your response has been remarkable," he told the conference.

But he repeated the remarks made by the Secretary of State, Sir Keith Joseph, to vice chancellors earlier this year, that they needed to convince a far wider constituency than the Department of Education and Science, or even the Government. "There are others on whom you need to impress your case," he said.

Referring to the Jarratt report on efficiency in universities, Mr Brooke stressed it was important that any changes made by universities were visible to the country as a whole. On academic standards, he said that he would feel happier when he saw an improvement in the spelling and punctuation of student scripts.

Mr Giles Radice, Labour's shadow education spokesman, said his party had made a better job of putting the case for higher education than the universities had. He promised that a future Labour government would raise level funding, but added: "Universities must move closer to their communities, and acknowledge their role as local, as well as national and international institutions".

The 1990s, he claimed, were a unique opportunity to widen access to higher education for 18-year-olds, and bring more mature students into the system. "Higher education must adapt itself to changing needs," he stressed. Mr Radice also called for a more 'accountable and democratic management' for higher education, especially in bodies such as the University Grants Committee.

Ms Anne Sofer, the SDP education representative, said the Government should take an "unashamedly expansionist view" of higher education, and should be encouraging 16-year-olds to stay in full-time education.

She said a meaningful shift towards science and engineering could not be achieved without a radical reform in curricula and examinations in secondary schools. The shortage of graduates would spell trouble for the country's economy in the long run, she added.

Mr Clement Freud, speaking for the Liberal Party, told the conference it



Party platform: Maurice Shock (left) with Giles Radice, Clement Freud, Anne Sofer and Peter Brooke

was no good waiting until things got better before increasing investment in higher education. "It must be done before things get better," he said.

He pressed for a common admissions system for all institutions, which would help to build "bridges and ladders" between advanced and non-advanced education.

Mr Maurice Shock, the CVCP chairman, concluding the conference, said the university system had a very high level of quality, but conceded that it

might be too narrowly focused. "We should pay more attention to the world in which our students have to enter, and more attention to continuing education and the re-training of students," he said.

He said that in 10 years' time, young executives in industry should be sitting on university councils, and that members of universities should be non-executive directors on boards, as a means of cementing the collaboration between universities and industry.

The Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals last week held a conference in London on the Government's Green Paper on higher education, as a prelude to its own response, which will take the form of an "alternative" paper due in the New Year. Peter Aspdren and Ngalo Crequer report on the conference, which included sessions on universities' output, research and its application, and a political forum featuring representatives from all four parties.



GREEN PAPER

Call for greater flexibility

Too many graduates entering the professions find the transition painful, said Mr Alan Hardcastle, senior partner, Peat Marwick Mitchell and Co. Mr Hardcastle, who is immediate past president of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, called on higher education to be more flexible and more representative to the needs of industry and commerce.

His profession was the largest single provider of business training in this country but he was not convinced that higher education fully recognized their needs, or was meeting those needs it saw as being as important.

He said there were now 38 universi-

ties which offered a degree course fully relevant to the profession's demands but there were "notable exceptions" among some of the best universities. "We must continue to fish in their pool but they have no overt commitment to the business world - how long can this continue?"

He said one in 10 of all graduates became accountants and one in five of the graduate output of Oxford and Cambridge became accountants.

An anti-business culture in the universities and sixth form still had a very damaging effect. He called for a closer and more responsive relationship between universities and the professions.

Quality of teachers 'paramount'

Universities are most relevant to industry as the educators and motivators of the young men and women who would shape the industry of tomorrow, said Mrs Sara Morrison, executive director of the General Electric Company.

For this role to be successful, the quality and motivation of the teaching staff was paramount.

"One could say the most important justification for maintaining a strong basic and strategic research in pure and applied science and engineering is to provide the environment in which undergraduate and postgraduate education can flourish," she said.

Research also provided an important bridge linking industry and

academia. Mrs Morrison warned against redeploying the decreasing amount of money devoted through research councils and the University Grants Committee away from basic and strategic academic research.

"If redeployed to expand applied research and development it could at best have a marginal short-term benefit... (but) would damage the educational system and undermine the mid and long-term applied R & D capability of the country - since industry cannot be expected to maintain basic science."

The rate of technological change and the increasing need for interdisciplinary teams to perform competitive

research set demands on the balance between breadth and depth in the undergraduate education of scientists and engineers.

People must expect to change their specialization more than once during their working lives. They needed a solid and broad education and "inter-face" skills.

Mrs Morrison was encouraged by the steps to encourage more girls into science and engineering "but the current male domination of senior academic posts in science and engineering does not exactly help this effort to capture the imagination of 50 per cent of the next generation's young brains."

WI launches college appeal

Closure of an adult education college in Oxfordshire has been averted by a decision to launch a £1 million appeal for cash to fund essential repair work.

Denman College at Marcham is owned and administered by the National Federation of Women's Institutes. Last week its executive committee agreed that the college should remain open, and to launch an appeal next year to fund the repairs.

Established in 1948, the college is housed in a Georgian mansion, with additional teaching accommodation in more modern annexes.

A modernization programme is

needed to improve fire and safety precautions and carry out roof repairs. The college offers about 200 courses each year, ranging from law and computer programming to glass engraving and yoga. About 4,000 WI members attend the college annually.

"Denman provides opportunities and activities that may not otherwise be available to our members," explained Mrs Agnes Salter, NWFI chairman. "The target of £1 million is realistic one if the college is to fulfil its role into the year 2000." Funds raised by the appeal will also be used to pay for future maintenance costs.

Marconi signs scanner deal

The Natural Environment Research Council has signed an agreement with Marconi to market its successful sea-floor sonar scanner, Gloria. The agreement is a large step forward in the council's effort to commercialize more of its work, and the NERC will receive a share of the profits from the company's new service.

Marconi Underwater Systems expects to attract £5 million worth of business a year when it has built new scanners for use aboard chartered survey vessels. The Gloria scanner, developed by the Institute of Oceanographic Sciences at Wormley in Surrey,

Drop the snobbery slur - v-c

The Government should stop "snobbery" universities about their alleged anti-business snobbery and acknowledge their efforts to tackle the problems of technology transfer, said the vice chancellor of Manchester University, Professor Mark Richmond.

He pressed the Government to affirm the central role of universities in carrying out pure research in this country, and to make clear that the continuation of that work was of the utmost importance in the long run.

"It should also recognize that we are doing a great deal of fundamental applied work, which is of the greatest importance, and that we are developing good relations with industry and commerce. There are major difficulties in the area of technology transfer, but it should be acknowledged that universities are serious in their intention to do something about it."

He said that the Green Paper, instead of being enthusiastic about the excellence of most research in universities, "praised us with faint damns". Universities still had a long way to go in collaborating with industry, but they needed to make sure that they protected what was already good about them as they made progress.

Professor Richmond said there was clear evidence that for a period in the 1950s and 1960s, it was regarded as "infra dig and faintly immoral" for scientific research to sell its hands with the capitalist system.

"But that simply no longer applies. Our best students now go into industry and commerce, and we have difficulty in recruiting people to do pure research. Our best engineers do not stay in academic engineering, they go into industry."

Mr Martin Wood, founder and former non-executive chairman of the Oxford Instruments Group, said universities needed to appreciate the intellectual as well as financial advantages of linking with companies. He attached some of the blame for the country's industrial decline on company executives who did not pay enough attention to basic research, and over-emphasized the importance of short-term profit figures. "There is no effective substitute for a firm doing its own research," he said.

PM's intervention cools Israeli students row

from Benny Morris
JERUSALEM

Israel's universities opened last weekend following the conclusion of a compromise agreement between the striking students and the treasury over tuition fees.

The compromise was reached after forceful intervention by prime minister Shimon Peres in the dispute. The National Union of Students (NUS) had prevented the opening of the school year two weeks earlier by calling an open-ended student strike to protest against the planned increase of

annual tuition fees from last year's \$500 to \$1,150. Earlier, during the summer, the students had agreed to an increase of the fees to \$900 as part of the national economic effort to trim the state budget and introduce general austerity.

The students of the Haifa Technion, Israel's Institute of Technology lost three weeks of studies as their school year was scheduled to open on October 10, a week before the country's other five universities. The committee of heads of the universities had warned that if the strike was extended any further the universities might prove

unable to give credits for the whole first semester of studies.

According to the compromise, the treasury agreed that students would pay only \$900 annually in tuition this year and next year. But the students would pay an additional \$250 for each of the academic years in payments over the next 12 years - interest free but linked to the cost of living index (the rate of inflation). The NUS agreed to the formula proposed by finance minister Yitzhak Moda'i apparently under pressure from premier Peres, last Wednesday night.

NUS chairman Eyal Yaffe called the

agreement "a tremendous achievement". He was in part referring to Moda'i's known desire to raise tuition fees next year (academic year 1986/87) to \$1,850. Meanwhile, the NUS is pressing for greater government assistance to needy students. Yaffe wants the sums accruing each year from the \$250 payments to subsidize the Perah scheme in which students, tutors and others help disadvantaged school pupils. In past years students participating in Perah numbered about 6,000 out of a total university student population of 65,000. They were given a sum annually by the state equivalent to 60 per cent of their tuition fees.

North Sea cash boost for colleges

by Christopher Follett

Norway's centre-right minority coalition government, recently returned to power for a second four-year term of office in general elections, plans to increase expenditure on higher education by 10.8 per cent in 1986.

While most other Western European governments are instituting drastic cuts or freezes in public spending in the educational sector, Norway, its coffers rich with North Sea oil and gas earnings, proposes to increase its budget allocation to the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs (to which higher education is allotted) to £395 million next year. Places for study at universities and institutes of higher education will increase next year by 1,450.

It is estimated this will bring the number of Norwegian students on courses of higher education up to 91,400 by the autumn of 1986, with a further 7,000 undergoing higher education abroad with state aid (Norway has a population of 4.1 million).

Advanced research is to be strengthened with some £39.5 million pinned for information and computer technology, oil, gas and biological studies and civil engineering. State aid for students engaged in advanced studies abroad is also to be dramatically increased to allow 400 new students each year to continue their studies in Britain and the United States. Student grants-in-aid, loans and stipends are also to be increased by an average 6 per cent per student in anticipation of the upsurge in students pursuing higher education.

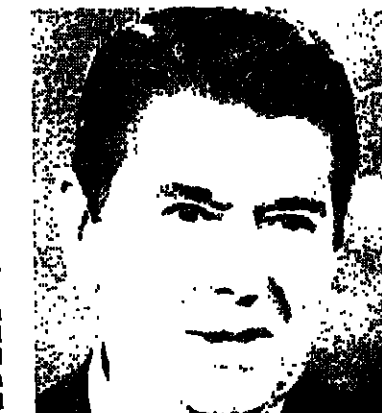
Research 'sabotage' prompts US inquiry

from William Norris
WASHINGTON

The United States Education Department is scurrying to put its house in order, following allegations that it has been engaging in censorship and the restriction of academic freedom. It is now under house arrest, investigation by a panel under the house representatives, looking into charges that the department's research projects which agree with President Reagan's political philosophy.

The controversy has arisen through the activities of the Publications and Advisory Council (PAC), which was set up in 1982 in response to the president's demand that federal printing costs should be reduced. Since then it has been reviewing most departmental publications to decide whether the printing costs were warranted, and tossing many of them back to their authors.

Among the worst sufferers have been



President Reagan: new challenge

researchers working for the National Institute of Education, which has a network of regional laboratories charged with distributing research

findings to the nation's schools and universities. Their angry complaints that the repeated refusal of PAC to allow their material to be printed has made it impossible for them to fulfill their contracts, has led to the inquiry. In an effort to head off the storm, education undersecretary Gary Bauer overturned all PAC's negative decisions on research publication and announced that procedures would be changed, but Congress decided the enquiry would still go ahead.

Other complaints include those working for the Women's Educational Equity Act programme - a small grant-making office inside the education department which was set up by Congress in 1974 and which the Reagan administration is trying to abolish. Leslie Wolfe, who directed WEEA from 1979 to 1983, charges that PAC's rejection of more than 70 per cent of her publication requests was a deliberate attempt to sabotage the

programme. "It was clearly a politically oriented operation," she said this week. "Almost every product was rejected by PAC, even though it was approved by WEEA, subjected to peer review, and modified by WEEA's publishing centre. It was quite clearly an attempt to prevent the success of the programme which, according to statute, has dissemination as one of its main purposes."

Anne Graham, assistant secretary for legislation and public affairs and chairwoman of PAC, has repeatedly denied that the council's decisions are politically motivated. Ms Graham, however, has now given notice of her intention to quit PAC, the department is promising that it will appoint a new chairman, change the composition of the council, delete research items from review in future, and allow each assistant secretary to decide what is "research" and what is not.

Unrest forces university closure

from D. B. Udalgama

The new academic year of the University of Colombo got off to an inauspicious start with some students forcibly occupying a hostel of the university.

At the University of Sri Jayawardhena (which has been closed since last month), an action committee of the students has asked the University Grants Commission to remove its vice chancellor.

At the University of Moratuwa, students complain of infringement of their rights and are threatening legal action, and at the University of Jaffna students have staged a fast in protest against the detention, without trial, of Tamil militants for longer than the 18 months allowed under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Colombo University students occupying the Aquinas hostel claim that the authorities plan to hand it over to the national security forces. After the university issued an ultimatum to quit within hours or it would not take responsibility for any consequences, the students left the hostel but boycotted lectures for two days in protest.

The vice chancellor Professor Stanley Wijesundera has said that the hostel was in fact to be used for women students "who were the most vulnerable to be sheltered", a position, he said, accepted by various student groups, past and present. Besides, the number of men students registered at the hostel last year was only 40. And complaints had been received from neighbours of indiscipline and "boisterous behaviour" by men in the hostel. The men were to be accommodated at a hostel previously occupied by women students.

The University of Sri Jayawardhena was indefinitely closed last month, following a clash between students and the university's security staff in which one student was hospitalized. The guard-house was found gutted by fire next morning.

The students charged that their personal belongings and lecture notes had been destroyed and laid the blame on the door of the vice chancellor, Dr K. Kodituwakku.

Scientists try to keep 'star wars' off the campus

Efforts by concerned scientists in the United States to keep "star wars" research out of the universities appear to be bearing fruit.

Figures just released by the Defense Department show that in the past year the Strategic Defense Initiative organization spent \$1,095 million on research contracts, but only 3 per cent - \$34 million - went to universities.

Since this figure includes more than \$15 million in contracts with three off-campus facilities which traditionally do work for the military, the actual percentage of the cash going to campus-based scientists was much smaller.

The three, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Los Alamos National Laboratory, both operated by the University of California, and the Lincoln Laboratory which is run by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, all received quite large contracts. The biggest went to the Lincoln Laboratory, which was given \$10.2 million for work on laser technology.

Among other colleges, the University of Texas was the largest recipient of SDI funds with just over \$5 million,

followed by Georgia Institute of Technology's Research Corporation with \$4.5 million.

Some 2,300 faculty members and graduate students have so far signed pledges refusing to work on the star wars project. One of the organizers, Professor John Kogut of the University of Illinois, said this week that he regarded even the relatively small sum of \$34 million as a waste of money because the proposed system was technically unfeasible.

Professor Kogut and his colleagues are being denounced by some of their right-wing peers as left-wing activists, who oppose SDI for political rather than scientific reasons. Howard L. Hurwitz, president of the University Professors for Academic Order, a Washington-based group of conservative faculty members, said this week that they were making it difficult for scientists who wanted to accept such support to do so. He forecast, however, that the number of faculty members willing to be involved would increase sharply with intensified Pentagon spending on star wars.

Trust plan to aid Africans

by Jane Bryce

A symposium run by the International African Institute in London has recommended the establishment of a trust fund to help African universities keep up subscriptions to journals despite shortages of foreign exchange.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for African scholars to keep up to date in their own fields, with university libraries lacking funds for journal subscriptions and books, a problem which is repeated at every level of the education system.

A number of organizations which supply reference and textbooks to educational institutions attended the meeting along with publishers and academics. As well as the trust fund for journal subscriptions, they recommended the subsidizing of new monographs through the aid agencies, and new ways of cooperating with publishers where hard cash is in short supply.

The symposium was linked to Bookweek Africa, which took place recently at London's Africa Centre, showing

900 titles from 130 African publishers in 124 countries. The first Bookweek in 1982 was organized by Hans Zell of the African Book Publishing Record, in cooperation with the Africa Centre. The energy it generated sparked off what has since become Africa's main publishing event, the Zimbabwe Book Fair.

The first Bookweek was designed as a forum for enhancing the visibility of African books in this country, where, to the majority, African literature means the Heinemann African Writers and Longman Drumbeat series. For the second, a working group in London started preparations over a year ago, assisted by funds from Unesco and other bodies, to make the occasion and other bodies, to make the occasion also a springboard for action. As a result, a working party met for three days in the week preceding the Bookweek to discuss the export and sale of books outside Africa. Represented were four presses from Nigeria, two each from Tanzania and Zimbabwe, and one from Kenya, Ghana and South Africa.

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overseas news

by Geoffrey Parkins

China looks to its colleges for the key to modernization

Proposals for China's seventh Five Year Plan (1986-90) have been drawn up after a year of deliberation by the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The plan, due to receive final approval from the National People's Congress next spring, sees a massive expansion and development of scientific and technological higher education as the key to China's economic development and modernization programme.

The main proposals for education over the next five years include:

- Producing 2.6 million graduates and 200,000 postgraduates in science, technology and management - an increase of 70 per cent and 400 per cent respectively over figures for the last five years.

- Sending much larger numbers of students to overseas universities.
- Vigorously strengthening higher education's links with industry and taking further steps to ensure that research and study is geared directly to profitable production and the development of new technology growth areas.
- Turning out two million specialized scientific, technological and cultural personnel from the country's colleges, at or above degree level.
- A huge expansion of technical and vocational education in the schools.

The specific economic goals of the PCC include doubling industrial and agricultural output value to 1,600 billion yuan and the gross national product to 1,100 billion yuan by 1990. It also proposes increasing annual per capita consumption in towns and rural areas by 4 to 5 per cent in the same period.

Speaking at the national conference, in Beijing, premier Zhao Ziyang stressed that improving living standards throughout the country was the overall purpose of the next five year plan. To achieve this, he said, the three main tasks of the 1986-90 period were to create a favourable economic and social climate for economic restructuring, to prepare follow-up capability for further development by strengthening key development projects and improving technical facilities and staff.

The proposal states that education's role in producing adequate numbers of appropriately trained specialists in sci-

ence, technology and management and effectively pursuing appropriate research, was the key to achieving all its objectives, and it was because of shortcoming in this area that China continued to lag behind the developed nations. "Economic construction, social development and the upgrading of science and technology," said the proposal, "depend on tapping the intellectual resources of the Chinese nation and training the country's talent."

The notion that abundant resources combined with a rich labour force would create miracles had been proved inaccurate in modern times, said the proposal. And while all natural resources, money and labour are limited, a nation's intellectual resources are not and constitute an inexhaustible productive capability.

A recent World Bank study estimated that only 20 per cent of Chinese industry measured up to standards in

the developed countries, and that the technology of around 60 per cent of industry was obsolete. It was said the proposal, the lack of research institutes and higher education generally to work closer with these industries in tackling key problems by vigorously developing and applying new inventions and transferring and disseminating new foreign technology, and also providing those industries with the required quantity and quality of skilled technical and managerial manpower necessary for taking full advantage of developments.

This last point received much emphasis, for it has lately become apparent that even in industries where new technology and equipment has been applied, productivity and profitability are still low by comparison. The main reason is that managers and technical workers do not possess the knowledge and skills required.

Research is to be intensified in

opening up new technology growth industries, especially information technology, micro-electronics and new materials, and development accelerated in such fields as bio-engineering, nuclear energy, oceanographic engineering, lasers and aerospace technology. New technology from abroad, says the proposal, must be more effectively combined with research at home, mastered, applied and further developed as the past. And finally, basic scientific research is to be intensified to give scientists the grounding of knowledge and skills necessary for long term development.

The PCC's proposals are ambitious. In view of the problems rapid expansion is causing in the universities already - particularly in terms of inadequate research facilities, trained teachers and technical support staff - it is difficult to imagine how it can be reached such objectives within the next five years. The costs of re-equipping China's research institutes, universities and colleges and importing sufficient numbers of foreign scientific and technical teachers and researchers is going to be enormous, but the PCC is confident that the financial resources can be found.

New university to be set up in Darwin

from Geoff Maslen
MELBOURNE

The Northern Territory government in Australia is going ahead with plans to create a university in Darwin. Years after first floating the proposal - and having it rejected by the federal government which funds higher education almost totally in this country - the territory is still intent on the idea.

Under plans announced by the territory's chief minister, Mr Tuxworth, the university will begin as an adjunct of the University of Queensland. Queensland will provide the staff, courses and award degrees in arts and science, initially on what Mr Tuxworth called a consultancy basis.

Sydney University will also cede the Sir Robert Menzies school of tropical studies to the new Darwin institution. The university would be launched without Commonwealth funding, Mr Tuxworth said. This is different from the way other universities have begun

in recent years in Australia where new institutions have started up as separate colleges of the host university and later become autonomous.

According to the chief minister, the arrangement with the University of Queensland was the quickest way to launch the new institution. With close supervision by experienced universities, the infant Darwin university would have less of a chance of a bad start, Mr Tuxworth said, adding that with a Queensland University degree, students would also have a qualification that was immediately transportable anywhere in Australia, or the world.

Mr Tuxworth said at some time in the future, the territory government would ask Queensland University to advise on the appointment of a vice-chancellor for the Northern Territory university.

Territorians have long been concerned at the flight of young people south to obtain higher education qual-

ifications. Mr Tuxworth said the territory had seen its brighter citizens leaving for further study, taking their families with them and often staying away for good.

He said the university would concentrate on areas such as tropical medicine, tropical agriculture and those areas which promoted trade with Asia. The latter would be the base of its commerce degree. When the Darwin university begins, its closest academic neighbour will be the university at Denpasar in Indonesia.

Mr Tuxworth said that Darwin was Australia's closest city to south-east Asia's major centres. There were 400 million people in the territory's catchment area. "It is calculated that 6 per cent of these people have the same spending power as people in Australia. That could give us a market of 24 million," he said.

The new university would start up initially on the campus of what was the old Darwin primary school. Tempor-

ary accommodation would be provided at what was once nurses' quarters and permanent buildings would be built in seven years. At first the university would be looking to enrol about 2,000 students and would probably reach its optimum size with 6,000 students.

Opposition to the territory university scheme has come from the already established Darwin Institute of Technology - a decade-old college of advanced education which offers courses, technical and further education programmes and institute of technology degrees.

The institute believes it should be backed as the main centre for higher education in the territory and has launched a campaign to try to protect its interests. It has been lobbying politicians in the Northern Territory legislative assembly to look more closely at the university scheme when legislation is introduced this session.

Historian falls foul of accepted version

A Yugoslav historian, Dr Veselin Djuretic, is at the centre of a growing row about Yugoslavia's role in the Second World War. Dr Djuretic, a graduate of Belgrade University, who did postgraduate work in Moscow, is employed at the Institute of Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and is rated highly enough as a historian to have worked on the editing of Tito's collected works.

His new book, however, presents a view of Tito which does not accord with Yugoslav historiography, presenting him, in the words of one critic as "Machiavellian and uncompromising person, set on seizing power", who was able to pull the wool over Churchill's eyes on a number of occasions.

Even worse, Dr Djuretic challenges the current concept of Yugoslav history by admitting, for the first time since Tito established himself in power, that Yugoslavia had two anti-Nazi partisan movements during the war, the second being the



Marshal Tito: "Machiavellian"

Cheknits of Draza Mihajlovic, whom Tito later had shot. Dr Djuretic's book, *The Allies and the Yugoslav Wartime Drama* was published on June 14, by the Institute of Balkan Studies. The attacks began only on September 17, with a fairly

mild criticism in the Zagreb news weekly *Danas*. In early October, the prestigious party journal *Komunist* came out with a forceful attack, accusing Dr Djuretic of "despising and belittling Tito's historical personality" while attempting to rehabilitate Mihajlovic. Even worse, said *Komunist*, Dr Djuretic had argued that the present Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had "no future", unless it reinstated pre-war and wartime conditions.

The *Komunist* article triggered a flood of denunciations, including one from a meeting of Belgrade journalists which was supposed to have convened to discuss preparations for the forthcoming party congress, and the science committee of the Serbian National Assembly. Since Yugoslavs like to claim they respect freedom of opinion, many of the attacks do not so much blame Dr Djuretic for his views, as the specialist referees who recommended his book for publication instead of noting the shortcomings.

China steps in where Russia will not tread

The third World Congress of Soviet and East European Studies opened last week in Washington DC without as had been generally expected - any official participation by the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies.

Unlike the two previous congresses (1974 and 1980) there was, however, a large Chinese presence. During the last four years, China has become increasingly committed to Soviet studies, particularly in the political and social sciences, but is greatly hampered by a shortage of Russian-speaking academics.

Although China has little hard currency to spare for academic research,

the Washington conference had presumably high level approval as a valuable means of filling the gaps in China's knowledge.

For the Soviet Union, however, these congresses are viewed as hot beds of Western subversion and ideological warfare. Since there was no official Soviet presence at two previous congresses in Banff, Canada and Garmisch, West Germany, it would have taken a considerable change of policy for the Soviet Union to reverse this stance for a congress held in Washington.

As before, however, a number of scholars from Eastern Europe expressed

a desire to attend as individual participants - and as before, for the most part, failed to arrive. This phenomenon was castigated during the opening ceremony as the Soviet Union putting pressure on its allies.

Such a conclusion is probably not entirely justified - many scholars from the UK, for example, who had planned to attend, dropped out when they realized that the congress would take place in term time.

But it typifies a misapprehension in the USA, even among scholars, that the East European governments are little more than instruments for carrying out Soviet policy.

States boost their budgets

The United States federal government may be doing all it can to trim spending on higher education, but out among the states the picture is very different. Figures released this week show that individual state support for universities has jumped by an average of 19 per cent over the past two years to nearly \$31 billion, following an 11 per cent rise in the previous two-year period.

The overall average conceals some wide variations in spending. Alabama and Arkansas, which had a good deal of leeway to make up, registered gains of 53 and 52 per cent. Texas, on the other hand, actually decreased grants to its universities by 3 per cent because of falling oil and gas revenues. Elsewhere, increases of 35 per cent have been posted in Tennessee, and 31 per cent in Maine and in California, which boasts the largest state appropriation of \$4.2 billion.

The chief reason for the increased spending appears to be the growing awareness among state legislatures of the importance of higher education to the development of their economies. On a per capita basis, the states are now providing an average of \$131.50 for each student, with individual figures ranging from nearly \$500 per head in Alaska to \$51.71 in New Hampshire.

The universities are not as euphoric as they might be about their state lot. It is being pointed out that most of the money is going into expansion. Some have been provided as compensation for colleges in return for holding down their tuition fees, in an effort to make them accessible to more students. Nevertheless, as the report from the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges points out, appropriations over the past decade have risen by 140 per cent and have beaten inflation by 19 per cent. No one is actually complaining.

Later this month campus unions will pull out all the stops to convince the British public that the Government's scenario for higher education is dramatically wrong.

A week of action called by unions on either side of the binary line is the conspicuous sign of the struggle to reverse the policies enshrined in the Green Paper *Higher Education into the 1990s*.

Behind the local rallies and approaches to MPs the Green Paper has jolted the unions involved to review their own policies. Today the National Union of Students, one of the organizations involved in the campaign, circulates its own alternative Green Paper for discussion in its student unions in the run-up to its December conference in Blackpool. And its recipe for the future is very different from the policies favoured by ministers in their own Green Paper based on the twin assumptions of declining public finance and a contraction matching the fall in enrolment to higher education.

Both sets of constraints are unceremoniously ditched by the NUS, which rejects what it regards as the attempt to legitimize policies which have served to maintain the status quo rather than introduce reforms. It expresses fundamental opposition to the idea of a move towards large scale private funding of higher education. "Private industry will only be interested in education if it sees education to be to its advantage and education must not become the servant of one particular narrow interest group," the NUS says.

The Government view that demand for higher education will remain at its present level until 1990 and then decline by 14 per cent until 1997 ignores the opportunity of expansion and involvement of non-traditional students, NUS says.

"The Government regards education not as a means of expanding

Curtain rises on the critics

David Jobbins looks at NUS criticism of the Green Paper and the scenario which they would like to see



opportunity but of limiting it - to define a narrow elite. The UK already has one of the lowest participation rates in higher education in Europe. It is clearly the Government's intention that it stays that way."

Casting the Government for excluding non-advanced further education from the terms of the debate, NUS says this has helped turn International Youth Year into an object failure - "just another year in which young people's independence, choice and opportunities have been undermined and curtailed."

NUS leaders feel that the Green Paper, instead of opening up the prospect of debate, is about just one thing - preparing the way for rationalization. "The Green Paper offered the Government the opportunity to develop radical education policies for the future; that opportunity has been squandered," NUS says.

"The Green Paper aims to create a higher education system which is smaller, more exclusive and attuned to both the needs and methods of

entry requirements."

The NUS points out that individual and national economic needs, while they may not always be the same, are not necessarily contradictory. "For most people choosing a course or programme, its contribution to their employability and earning potential is likely to be a significant consideration."

"Automatically the needs of the economy will have a strong influence upon the choices made by individuals in exercising their educational entitlement. As a result there is likely to be a considerable degree of alignment between educational provision and economic requirements."

"The point is however, that this will be the result of responsible individual choice rather than central state dictat."

As well as seeking to demolish the Government's case, NUS takes the opportunity offered by the Green Paper debate to set out the improvements it wants to see in the existing system. It calls for fundamental changes beginning with the bringing together of universities, polytechnics and further education colleges into an integrated system under a single department of education and training but with increased local control. "A unified system of management would not mean that all institutions would mimic each other in size, provision, slant. We support diversity of institutions because this gives more scope for individual choice."

Universities as well as public sector colleges would come under stronger local control. Regional education authorities would be created to channel information through to the overarching National Education Council, which would subsume both the University Grants Committee and the

National Advisory Body and assume responsibility for advice to ministers on all post-16 education.

NUS' vital concern for greater public accountability and guaranteed standards of education has particular implications for the universities - and they are singled out for special attention in the alternative Green Paper.

"It is not enough for an establishment to rest on received wisdom that traditionally it has an excellent reputation. Stagnation and lack of innovation can result from resting on one's laurels. Standards can slip. It is not true that there is no such thing as a lazy academic or academic administrator."

External examiners are not sufficient and the NUS emphasizes the recognition by the Council for National Academic Awards of the student view of the wider academic environment. It calls for a National Validating Body covering the whole of post-school education including the universities.

The NUS admits the cost implications of its plans but believes that the concept of education as a drain on resources is fundamentally faulty. "The present Government has consistently given the highest priority to defence and law and order. There seems to be no shortage of money as far as the Trident missile system, the fortress Falklands policy or the polluting of the miners' strike is concerned."

But the longer term cost of failing to invest in education will be greater than the apparent savings of short term fiscal expediency. "The cost gauged in social terms is the sheer human waste of lost opportunities. The failure of the education system must take some of the blame for the despair and frustration which has exploded on the streets of the inner cities."

people offered places still turn them down.

Dr Grugeon said university surveys showed that those most vulnerable were new students, women under 35 and those with incomes below £10,000 who had most difficulty in meeting tuition fees. Even 25 per cent of continuing education students doing one-off short courses were reported to experience difficulties meeting costs.

Two in 10 men said that could not study without outside help such as employer's support while two in seven women relied on outside support but found it harder to find.

But despite the hardships he maintains that the Open University is still more open and more accessible than any other British university.

The myth that the Open University provides for middle class teachers is disproved by the statistical evidence. Recent information from the national mature student survey shows that a half of new OU undergraduates have fathers in the registrar-general's "blue collar" social classes.

Those with less than two A levels has risen from 27 to nearly 40 per cent and the proportion of teachers has fallen from 40 to 14 per cent with women students forming almost half of the new intake.

Dr Grugeon points to a small improvement in the numbers of those who are unable to take up places offered but 35 per cent still refuse places. The new five-part instalment method for paying fees may have helped, however.

Students with disabilities are another section of society who have benefited from the Open University so much so that they have been described by the vice-chancellor as "the university within a university."

They have increased their participation to comprise 3 per cent of the total first graduates which means that over 2,000 physically handicapped people are provided with a chance that few other universities can meet.

The university is still sticking to its regional quotas and fears that it might become the Open University of the South have not materialized. But increasingly it is getting harder to fill the places in Northern Ireland, Wales and the North to which must now be added the north-west, Yorkshire and the Midlands, while the quota in London and the south-east could be filled twice over.

The dilemma is whether the OU can continue to reach those students it was set up to reach if the current financial restraints are enforced.

Trying to keep the options open

Felicity Jones reports on fears that the proposed OU cuts will fall most heavily on the students

Next week, the Open University Students' Association plans to present to Downing Street a petition with close to 200,000 signatures in defence of a realistic level of funding for the university.

It will be the culmination of a vigorous campaign by the students to draw attention to the irreparable damage which the cut in grant, staggered over four years, will do to the institution's fabric as "the university of second chance."

The association, which represents all of the university's 70,000 students, has feared from its first announcement from the Government that ultimately, the cost would fall upon the students.

Their fears were confirmed when the university council announced that fees would have to be increased above the level of inflation. Delegates to the student conference in York this year voted overwhelmingly in favour of direct action should the 1986 fee be increased beyond the inflation rate and already their executive has taken the unprecedented step of asking the council to think again.

As with all part-time students, the major and inescapable cost of study is fees - compared to the conventional student whose fees are paid automatically in addition to his or her grant.

A first degree student at the Open University starting in 1985 could pay up to £2,256 for fees alone and will have to pay for books, travel to tutorials, day, weekend and summer schools and other incidentals like stationery out of his or her own pocket.

Discretionary grants are available but local education authority help with course fees has dropped from 20 per cent of students in 1974 to 6 per cent. More than half the authorities used to give full summer school fees and this has dropped to a third.

"tend to deter new students and inhibit the progress of existing ones and put at risk the openness of the OU through the possibility of its becoming accessible only to the relatively affluent."

The openness of the Open University has always been a point of contention. The OUSA campaign grew out of the long-term student campaign for mandatory student grants because it has always been a belief that part-time students will be second-class students until they win parity.

Mr Willie Butler, OUSA vice president (education) believes that in spite of the university's Financial Assistance Fund and fund for unemployed students (FUS) and the students' own educational trust fund, there is still a considerable "poverty trap" where students fall between the criteria.

Last year the university's funds were embarrassingly underspent and yet 40 per cent of new students say they have difficulty meeting their costs of study. "The combination of pressures, both financial, time and domestic commitments, are increasingly putting certain people off," said Mr Butler. "A person's income may be slightly higher than the ceiling to qualify for assistance or a woman's husband may be earning above that rate but they may still fall through the net and be unable to afford an OU degree course."

He challenges the view which believes that anyone who wants can study with the OU. "We would say that if you work on that basis then it is no longer open because it is only open if you can pay for it."

The students' association concern extends to the existing students. Willie Butler is especially critical of the university's plan to increase independent learning which the association sees as a plan to save money at the students' expense.

The proposal, which still has to be formally introduced, would involve less guided learning as the student progresses through a degree course. "In a conventional university a student



Studying at home: the university plans to increase independent learning.

who is working towards an honours degree sees more of their tutor but under this policy the OU would cut down on that contact."

The "ratchet system" whereby more and more financial expectations are piled upon the student before they even start a course also restricts access into the university.

There is the possibility that ownership of a video cassette recorder and home computer will be assumed on some courses, thus further disadvantaging those in lower income brackets.

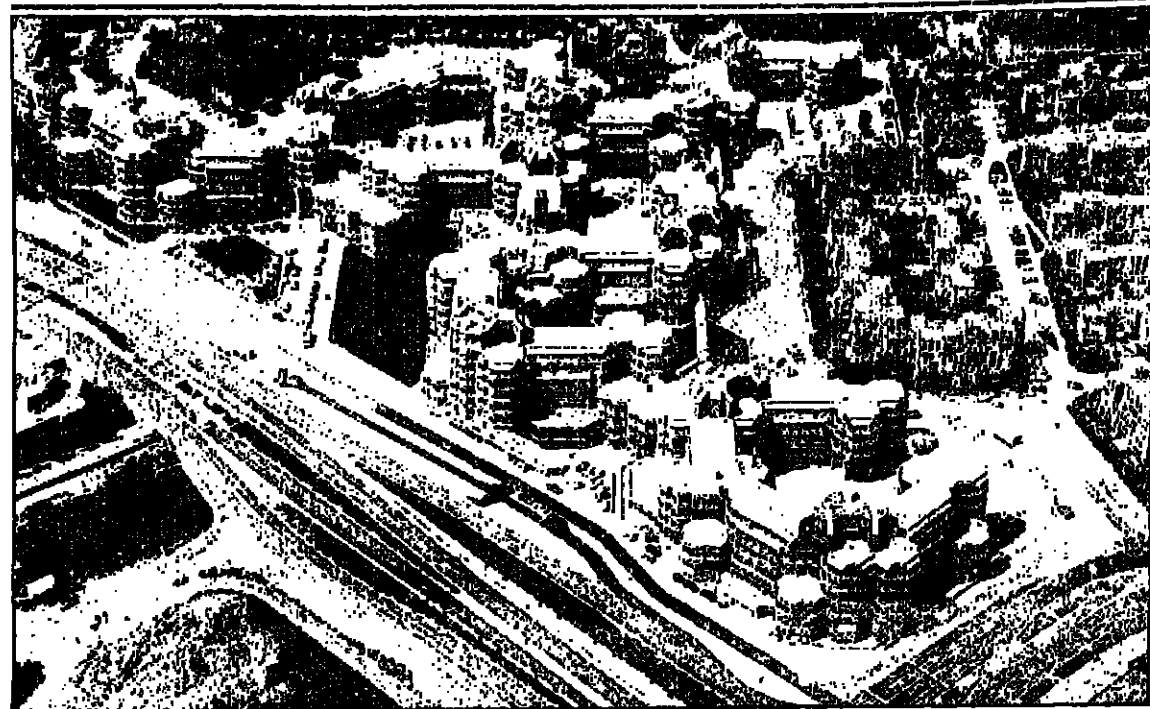
Mr Butler points to increased staff student ratios, the amount of time spent on providing extra counselling to special groups like the disabled and regional budgets for tutorial support

being cut as signs that the university's financial position is beginning to bite where it hurts most - the student. But this position has not affected the

number of applicants for places which increased from 49,000 to over 56,000. Because in spite of all the problems and financial hardships it is estimated that between now and the end of the century there will be an increase of three million people between the ages of 30 and 60, a vast pool of latent talent, for whom the Open University could provide an opening into higher education.

Dr David Grugeon, pro-vice-chancellor (academic teaching and students) points to the million people which the OU cannot begin to reach because they cannot afford to pick up the tab and it would require a national initiative to open up opportunity for them.

Special initiatives, like the fund for unemployed students which helps 4,000 a year to study, can make an impact, but a very high number of



The new Dutch department of education and science building.

Finding a commercial niche

An astronomer keen on computer-aided films and an ex-medical student working in university laboratories and living on state benefits are among the first holders of innovation fellowships – a new initiative at Groningen University in the Netherlands.

The scheme, designed as an alternative to a standard research career, is a good example of a Dutch ability to create niches for people with unconventional talents. The innovation fellowships will be supported by the university for two years while they try to develop commercial products from their ideas – software for computer animations and new lenses for eye cataract operations, respectively.

And the country will need to make use of people like this to realize its ambition to speed up the flow of ideas from universities into the marketplace. The Groningen administrators report demand for the new fellowships is slack as the best candidates often take jobs with one of the big Netherlands companies – and are lost to the university system.

As this suggests, the science policy landscape across the North Sea has some familiar landmarks: tradition-bound universities grappling with a new selective research policy; an ageing population of researchers blocking career paths for newcomers; head-scratching over the best way to promote the key industrial seedbeds of biotechnology, information technology and new materials; and a general feeling that the right recipe for turning science into innovation is proving elusive.

These problems are common to all the countries in the rich nations' club of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, as a recently published OECD report – *Science and Technology Policy Outlook 1985* – makes clear. So is there anything for Britain to learn from a country whose government spends around £1 billion a year on research and development, less than a quarter of the UK figure?

Maybe yes. For the Netherlands, unlike Britain, has no trouble seeing itself as a small country. Yet in global terms, the Dutch and the British are not far apart. They claim a 1 per cent share of the world's science, while we have around 5 per cent. And with Britain's share of the world's research and development spending declining, this country may soon have to think more clearly about science policy for a minor power. That is a task the Dutch, in their modest way, have already begun.

And it is a job the Dutch take seriously. To judge by the number of people in the government thinking about the subject. Seventy civil servants work in the science policy directorate of the education and science department – in a remarkable new high-tech building which is striking to visit but appalling to work in, by all accounts. And there are almost as many again in the two other administrative blocks which compete for influence over research policy, the education ministry's higher education and research directorate, and the technology policy directorate of the powerful ministry of economic affairs.

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Jon Turney looks at Dutch efforts to forge ahead in the 'white heat' areas of technology

ated by the minister for education and science of the governing centre-right coalition, Mr Wim Deetman. He manages what used to be a separate science policy portfolio with its own minister. A shift to the Dutch labour party in next year's general election would probably produce a move back to a separate science policy, or possibly a science, technology and information technology portfolio. But for now Mr Deetman is convinced that such a restructuring of responsibilities would produce "organizational chaos" in the rather complex Dutch system for funding research.

The opposition plea for an information technology minister is quite recent, as the Netherlands government realized the importance of information technology rather late in the day. It has now embarked on what Mr Deetman calls "catching up operations", and IT is one of the Dutch spearhead areas in science policy.

But as Dr Peter Timdens of the science policy directorate explains, there are limits to what a small country can hope to achieve in such a diffuse area. The five-year Dutch informatics plan will cost £20 million a year on top of existing spending on computer science and IT, and this is expected to boost education and training, research, and buy hardware for laboratories.

So Timdens points out there are no major government funded programmes in the "white heat" areas of information technology. Instead, the programme's research component concentrates on applications, and on building up expertise in strategic areas where there may be niches for Dutch industry.

The Dutch also want to make sure their education system is equipped properly, and the country's 13 universities have responded eagerly to a government invitation to define their computing needs for the 1990s.

Since the whole package carries a price-tag which would account for two-thirds of the current IT programme budget for the whole country, the plans are likely to be scaled down before approval. But the university side are confident they will at least get the new computer network.

If the Netherlands have been a bit slow off the mark in information technology, the country has a stronger claim to a place in the biotechnology stakes. As long ago as 1981 the ministry set up a programme committee on biotechnology, chaired by Professor Rob Schilperoord of Leiden University.

The Dutch already had a strong base in biotechnology, with several major companies active in the field. The £17 million which the government awarded for the first stage of the

programme was designed to increase work on multi-disciplinary projects, enhance academic-industrial collaboration, and boost training of young researchers.

The university research side of this has taken shape fairly readily. One advantage of a smaller system is having fewer centres vying for funds in a given area. The programme focuses on five centres, with major efforts at the Delft University of Technology and Leiden, (working jointly on plant biotechnology and process engineering) Groningen and Amsterdam. Leiden also has its own embryo "biodesign park", following a now familiar pattern designed to attract companies to work near the university campus.

In this and other current priority areas – which include soil protection, remote sensing, marine research and materials – the Dutch stress the importance of international collaboration as a vital policy plank for a small nation.

The Dutch are especially keen on joint European initiatives, like the information technology programme Euphrat, and the proposed Eureka scheme for a range of high-technology projects, discussed at a high-level meeting in Hanover earlier this week. And when the Netherlands assumes the chair of the European Commission next year we can expect to hear more of the idea of a European technological community.

This might be a follow-up to the European pollution community which already exists, in the view of the National Institute for Marine Research (NIOZ) on the offshore island of Texel. Marine research is a long-standing Dutch tradition, and another area for overseas cooperation, exemplified by a recent joint Dutch-Indonesian oceanographic expedition. But the NIOZ researchers would like a bit more cooperation on management of the North Sea ecosystem, which has to cope with heavy pollution from the Rhine industries, and from Britain.

This concern with the effects of science and technology is an important part of Dutch science policy more generally, and has had a big effect on efforts to promote public understanding of science in the Netherlands.

The impulse to try and ensure democratic access to often highly esoteric decision-making was also behind the "science shops" which sprang up at Dutch universities in the early 1970s. The Amsterdam shop reports that these centres are now quite well established in their second decade, passing on research questions posed by laypersons to university researchers. The Amsterdam shop's best-selling report of 1984 was a study of new breathing equipment for the city's firemen.

Ventures like the science shops and the technology assessment scheme suggest the Netherlands offer fertile soil for social innovations connected with science and technology. This may help the Dutch deal with what remains the main science policy issue for the immediate future – how to turn clever science into commercial technology. As the Groningen innovation fellowships show, Dutch institutional flexibility is a useful asset in the international race to turn a profit from research.

The man from Ferranti sets up a new system

Olga Wojtas previews the Scottish Tertiary Education Advisory Council's review submitted by chairman Donald McCallum this week

Donald McCallum, director of Ferranti, first met members of the education at press 15 months ago.

He had just chaired the initial meeting of the Scottish Tertiary Education Advisory Council, set up to review the future strategy of higher education.

He had barely uttered a few words when the committee intended to canvass views, when he was bombarded with esoteric and specialized questions which even an educationist chairman would have been hard pressed to answer.

"So are you going to close any universities?" asked one hack in a final attempt to get a story.

The council would not be making recommendations about specific institutions, Mr McCallum explained. But if a university were axed, this would be the first time in the nation's history.

"What about the University of Fraserburgh?" the reporter demanded.

Mr McCallum looked startled.

"The University of Fraserburgh was closed in the 17th century. It is quite clear you haven't read the first volume of James Scotland's *History of Scottish Education*."

The STEAC report is now complete and was this week submitted to the Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr George Younger. Mr McCallum cheerfully admits he has still not got around to reading James Scotland's tome. But if he is obliged to face a second press interrogation, he can claim with justification to know a great deal more about Scottish higher education than most educationists.

He was not alone in having to learn the intricacies of a complex system, since the minority of council members had a background in education. The vice-chairman, Dr Tom Bone, principal of Jordanhill College of Education; Sir Alwyn Williams, principal of Glasgow University; Dr Harry Cumming, principal of Dundee College of Technology; and Dr Ethel Gray, former principal of Craigie College of Education, were matched by Mr Aubrey Harper, former technical director of the Nobel Explosives Company; Mr Allan Smith, managing director of Babcock Tower; Mr Norman Biggart, former president of the Law Society of Scotland; and Mr Duncan MacLeod, partner in a Glasgow chartered accountants firm.

It is time the government's Green Paper on higher education which seriously avoided any hint of pre-empting the council's conclusions. STEAC in return has felt no obligation to follow any government steer. And while the council does not make recommendations either on individual institutions or specific subject areas, it backs the full range of current courses continuing in Scottish higher education institutions.

Obviously a major concern of STEAC, highlighted by its having an industrialist chairman, is how best education can meet the needs of industry. And the Scottish philosophy of a more general education has been stressed in innumerable submissions as producing graduates who are better able to adapt to the changing needs of the job market than those who undergo highly specialized courses.

A problem which STEAC highlights is that the drop in the number of school leavers comes just as many of the newer industries, which are hoping to expand, are already experiencing severe recruitment shortages.

Many of the submissions attacked as over-optimistic the SED's projections which showed the demand for higher education dropping to 60 per cent of this year's peak level by the end of the century.

STEAC has apparently been working from revised figures which show a drop over the next 10 years to between 70 and 80 per cent of current school-leaver entrants to higher education. Present intakes could be maintained if the number of school leavers going on to higher education rises from below 20 per cent to 30 per cent. But STEAC is likely to recommend moves to help more mature students come in.

The council will not emerge as the saviour of the college of education sector, however. The figures it has used show a reduction in the demand for teachers because of the falling birth rate, and that there may be a slight increase this is unlikely to reach current levels of college capacity.

The Scottish Secretary is expected to issue the STEAC report as a consultation paper by the end of this month. Whatever its conclusions, Mr McCallum is guaranteed a paragraph in any future history of Scottish education. And if STEAC's blueprint brings the universities under SED control, he may even have his own chapter.

which should govern the links between the universities and other institutions, is a radical departure from any former review in its inclusion of the eight Scottish universities.

The argument in the past has been that since they are funded nationally, through the University Grants Committee, they can only be considered nationally.

But the reviews launched by the UGC and the National Advisory Body have left Scotland in an anomalous position since the Scottish universities dovetail with an educational system completely different from that south of the border.

School leavers enter higher education, often at 17, with four or five

The council is convinced of the value of trade-based degrees

highers as opposed to two or three A levels. And while some advanced further education courses are taught through local authority colleges, in the main higher education is provided by the universities, and the SED-funded central institutions and colleges of education.

Whatever future STEAC proposes for the Scottish universities, it has clearly been convinced of the value of their distinctive broad-based three-year general degrees which are less specialized than those in England and Wales.

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Patricia Woodward and Patrick Dalton on the 'bedside' approach to undergraduate law schooling

It is possible to teach and study law in a way which presents it as a set of rules, so as to achieve considerable success in examinations with little attention to the evanescence of these "rules" and their frequent ineffectiveness in practice. The study of law in England and Wales has suffered much from this concentration on the so-called "rules" – law as it is generally understood by the layman. It is usually presented in this way in textbooks dealing with particular branches of law, by Acts of Parliament and by judges when deciding cases in the appellate courts. An example of such a rule-based principle is the one of liability which entitles a person injured by negligence to sue for damages.

But the study of this type of rule can be misleading. First, by aiming for a precise definition of what is meant by liability it overemphasizes the rule's inflexibility. Second, it tells you nothing about the hundred and one ways in which a law can be modified in its practical application.

The influences which can make the effects of the law in action different from the purposes described in the books are many and sometimes so complex that they defy precise description. Sometimes it might be distasteful to admit them. A few examples are: almost the whole of the law of evidence; procedure; costs; delays; incompetence; prejudice; discretion; psychological factors. Some of these are the subject of formal study at practical level. Others however are absent – they form an unmentionable case of topics. Yet wise lawyers are winning cases and advantages through knowledge of them every day of the week.

One of the great problems of the law is the claiming of legal rights. Say, for example, you are accused of stealing goods from a shop. You are not guilty and you have elected trial by jury at Crown Court. A finding of your innocence will depend upon: the quality of interview by your solicitor; the choice of counsel by your solicitor though even at the last moment your case might be passed on to less experienced counsel; the quality of witnesses for both prosecution and defence; the ability and unconscious prejudices of the judge in his interventions and address to the jury; the composition of the jury.

If you are found guilty the sentence you receive will again depend to a significant extent on the value judgement, for example, counsel, judge and probation officer. The Theft Act 1968 provides an elaborate definition of the physical and mental elements of the crime of theft. The crime is punishable by a maximum of 10 years imprisonment. The chances are that the Theft Act will present no legal problems at the trial. Yet facts, mistakes, lies and incompetence might bring disaster to you.

The point being made is a simple one. What part did legal rules play in all this? It might have been more useful to have known that the store had suffered so much shoplifting that the management, police and the public were "up in arms". These issues are more serious than the "faults", inconsistencies or perceived injustices. Reformers often cure these. Legislation can however do little to change human nature and psychology. It can influence behaviour, but human behaviour easily changes. Sometimes much of the law's effectiveness is destroyed in this transmission process.

Human factors in the legal process must be accepted not merely as an aberration, which sometimes knocks the shine off the law, but as a normal, natural or "scientific" fact. As such, it can perhaps be brought more fully into subject study and not abandoned to the street-wise lawyer.

Let us now turn to a higher level study of law. Most people would recognize that when Parliament makes new law, considerable moral, philosophical, economic and social factors come into play. Policies and politics shape the new law. What would not so generally accepted is that these same value judgements strongly influence the way in which existing law, whether derived from Acts of Parliament or previous case law, is interpreted or applied by the judges when they decide cases before them.

Everyone knows that there are some areas of law which are not really fact or logical or continually changing the law's shape. The principle of negligence has several centuries of history behind it, but it achieved its present definition more than 50 years



Case for the prosecution of clinical trials

ago. Yet the kind of behaviour which is considered negligent can vary from age to age but also as regards different activities at the same time in history. These changes have nothing to do with the internal logic of the law, but reflect the value judgements of our society as perceived by the judge.

An example might illustrate this. Social and economic necessity led to the replacement of horses as a form of transport by motorised vehicles. Although roads have improved enormously over this period of replacement, very similar margins for avoidance of collision of vehicles have been inherited from the age of horse transport. Yet cars travel at much greater speeds than horses. Motorists are nevertheless permitted, indeed obliged, to avoid collisions by a matter of feet or even inches. Thousands of injuries and deaths result from this tiny margin of error every year. Our society does not accept this. Near misses do not of themselves constitute negligence.

In the case of air travel, however, all is different. There were no flying horses before aeroplanes came along. A pilot who is responsible for a near miss, even though no one is injured as a result, can expect disciplinary action. The notion of negligence is indeed a legal chameleon. Value judgements lurk very closely beneath the surface of much of our law. When the law is expressed in sufficiently elastic terms it can appear to be unchanging. Sometimes, however, the words describing legal rules and principles might not be sufficiently flexible to accommodate some social, economic and other pressure to which judges feel obliged to respond.

Sometimes they have to admit defeat and leave it to Parliament to provide a remedy. Often however they can develop the law themselves. So anxious are they, however, not to appear to be changing the law that they elevate such pressure to the status of a principle of law – a kind of super rule which takes it place tidily with all the other legal "rules". This rule is called "public policy" or simply "policy".

One of the most striking examples of its application was by the House of Lords in 1962, acting in its role as the highest court, when it virtually invented a new crime of "conspiracy to corrupt public morals".

Lord Simonds stated: "There are

also the moral welfare of the state." The rather spectacular impact of this and some other cases where "policy" has been applied tend to suggest that policy is a super rule which makes a very occasional, if drastic, intervention into the legal landscape, rather like a volcano. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"Policy" is at work every day quietly influencing not only commonplace judicial decisions but also the negotiations which seek to avoid going to law and innumerable other relationships which have a legal element. Again the point being made is that "policy" in legal study should not be approached as an occasional aberration in the practice of law, for which special provision has been made, but as a perfectly natural and "scientific" element in every part of the law. As such it is not an embarrassment but a normal phenomenon. It should be studied as such.

It is not suggested that these and other higher philosophical levels of legal study are never touched upon in the conventional studies of specific areas of law such as contract or crime. Traditionally however they have been skimmed off as a separate subject, usually called "uniqueness" or "legal theory". That subject is often disliked by law students because it can seem irrelevant to their other areas of study.

A true study of law would integrate these approaches. In a very few law schools in this country some fusion has been achieved through "clinical" legal education, thereby offering students a more realistic view of law. We shall suggest that much of a study, besides correcting some of the distortions mentioned earlier, can also bestow considerable educational advantages.

Clinical legal education is the study of law in action or simulated action. The analogy is with the "bedside" teaching enjoyed by medical students. It is not possible, within the present structure of the legal profession, to provide the fullest kind of education – practice married to theory.

Clinical legal education does attempt however to make the best of whatever opportunities exist. For example at some law schools students, under close supervision, have given practical legal advice to clients from local law centres. While the advantages of first hand experience is apparent, such a programme as well as being particularly costly in time and staff resources suffers from the prob-

lem of having to accommodate the vicissitudes of the legal process within a fixed timetable. An attractive alternative is to involve students in a simulated case study.

Here, through a programme of role playing exercises centred around a defined legal issue and involving such techniques as drafting, interviewing, negotiating and advocacy, the student is required to take a broad and comprehensive appraisal of the nature of law which puts the refined description often presented in study in a different perspective. Short placements in solicitors' offices or barristers' chambers as well as court and other visits can supplement this programme.

Here it is not just the learning methodology which is important, though the process effectively serves to bridge the gap between practice and cognition, but the medium also serves as the message. The students come to appreciate through experience that those legal rights principles and doctrines which have been set in concrete in the pages of legal texts and judgments may in fact be available to the citizen in a more flexible and accessible form. It is not a matter of because of the operation of the rules and personnel of the legal system, and that the law has real practical rather than merely intellectual consequences.

Of course the clinical approach cannot cure all the deficiencies and distortions of conventional legal education. We might briefly note however some of its benefits and wonders which law courses unlike medicine, chemistry, physics, engineering, architecture, music, pictorial and sculptural art, languages or drama have contented themselves with so little first-hand participation in subject study.

Clinical legal education brings home to students that legal problems do not often present themselves under the neat subject divisions which are chosen for the purpose of academic study. Human problems and enterprises pay little respect to the labels of traditional legal writings and study but frequently cut across them. The subject matter of complex litigation rarely confines itself to well delineated chapters in the current legal text. Clinical study also illustrates that before the legal issue is identified and agreed, there come into play a matrix of practical skills and issues crucially important in the delivery of legal rights, so confidently described in books, but sometimes lost through lack of such non-legal attributes as human psychology, the tech-

nique of communication and persuasion, knowledge of the nature and behaviour of different classes of people, and the ability to grasp the outline of expert subjects ranging from a gear box to a heart valve.

Clinical method not only emphasizes but can also develop personal qualities in students, since law can be presented as a service and not only as a business. By bringing abstract legal rules into direct contact with everyday human problems clinical method puts law into an environment fit for its purpose. It can bring perspective to legal studies in other ways, by showing that law is on the scene not only where there is dispute or conflict but that it can be about positive planning in order to avoid dispute or to bring about conciliation. Sometimes law is not an appropriate means of problem resolution and should retire from the scene altogether to make way for other means of problem resolution which are particularly appropriate for legal solution but which are not readily perceived as such, particularly by the disadvantaged.

Clinical study also helps to universalize law as between social classes. Subject classifications in law as studied tend to elevate the transient economic and social policies of one era into permanent philosophy, and enshrine their outline in legal principles and rules. The economic policy of *laissez-faire* of the 19th century, for instance, begot such a sturdy legal principle, "freedom of contract", that even today Parliament is continually obliged to correct this general legal theme in the interests of particular classes of consumers who need protection from it.

Academic lawyers often see this parliamentary activity as an aberration of dogma and principle. The market place ethics still largely dominate the service which the legal profession gives to the public. The fund of legal skills and advice in the field of property conveyance, company formation, tax avoidance and up-market commerce far outweighs the availability of assistance in the vast field of welfare law, landlord and tenant and smaller consumer claims.

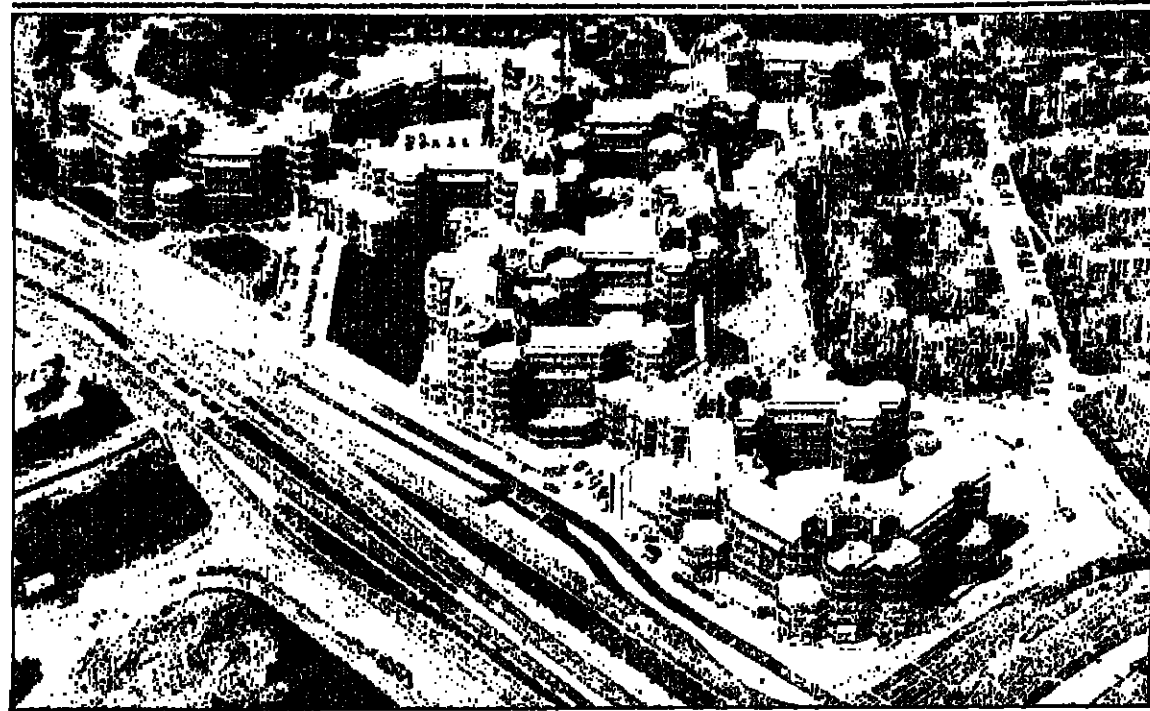
By concerning itself with everyday legal issues, those problems and disputes affecting thousands of ordinary people, which however do not possess any exceptional legal interest, clinical study fills in the gaps left by legal study which is very much concerned with the new frontiers of law – the few dozens of Court of Appeal decisions rather than the thousands of day-to-day applications of principle to variable fact situations. The practical problem of piloting a legally commonplace problem to a safe harbour are demanding, though in a different way from those attending an appeal on a fine point of law on behalf of a rich corporation which can afford to run a test case in the Court of Appeal.

Clinical study is intellectually economical and an enjoyable teaching and learning method. Doing a process rather than learning it seems to address an older and more desirable area of the mind than that which serves rote learning. Much of the training of lawyers even at professional level is still carried out in the classroom and depends upon rote learning. Examinations are conducted exclusively on this basis. This is equivalent to music students being taught how to play the piano while seated at desks, listening to instruction on technique illustrated by a diagram of a keyboard on the blackboard; and then being examined on the instructions without even playing a note of music.

It can also be claimed that clinical teaching can be beneficial to the tutor. The present system of legal education, has a tendency to perpetuate itself. There is too little interflow between the practising and teaching branches of the profession, and too much suspicion from academics who consider that skill-centred learning lacks academic rigour. In fact there should be no conflict in a well-educated student becoming a well-educated practitioner. Through a process of demystification, clinical education from its broad base is able to identify the aims purposes and nature of law and of laws.

By confronting the legal process with all, clinical education promotes and nurtures that healthy scepticism which is essential to proper legal scholarship practice and reform.

The authors are principal lecturers in the department of law, City of Birmingham Polytechnic.



The new Dutch department of education and science building.

Finding a commercial niche

An astronomer keen on computer-aided films and an ex-medical student working in university laboratories and living on state benefits are among the first holders of innovation fellowships - a new initiative at Groningen University in the Netherlands.

The scheme, designed as an alternative to a standard research career, is a good example of a Dutch ability to create niches for people with unconventional talents. The innovation fellowships will be supported by the university for two years while they try to develop commercial products from their ideas - software for computer animations and new lenses for eye cataract operations, respectively.

And the country will need to make use of people like this to realize its ambition to speed up the flow of ideas from universities into the marketplace. The Groningen administrators report demand for the new fellowships is slack as the best candidates often take jobs with one of the big Netherlands companies - and are lost to the university system.

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And it is a job the Dutch take seriously, to judge by the number of people in the government thinking about the subject. Seventy civil servants work in the science policy directorate of the education and science department - in a remarkable new high-tech building which is striking to visit but appalling to work in, by all accounts. And there are almost as many again in the two other administrative blocks which compete for influence over research policy, the education ministry's higher education and research directorate, and the technology ministry's policy directorate of the powerful ministry of economic affairs.

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But as Dr Peter Tindemans of the science policy directorate explains, there are limits to what a small country can hope to achieve in such a diffuse area. The five-year Dutch informatics plan will cost £80 million a year on top of existing spending on computer science and IT, and this is expected to boost education and training, research, and buy hardware for laboratories.

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Ventures like the science shops and the technology assessment scheme suggest the Netherlands offer fertile soil for social innovations connected with science and technology. This may help the Dutch deal with what remains the main science policy issue for the immediate future - how to turn clever science into commercial technology. As the Groningen innovation fellowships show, Dutch institutional flexibility is a useful asset in the international race to turn a profit from research.

The man from Ferranti sets up a new system

Olga Wojtas previews the Scottish Tertiary Education Advisory Council's review submitted by chairman Donald McCallum this week

Donald McCallum, director of Ferranti, first met members of the educational press 15 months ago.

He had just chaired the initial meeting of the Scottish Tertiary Education Advisory Council, set up to review the future strategy of higher education.

He had barely uttered a few anecdotal remarks about how the nine-strong committee intended to canvass widely for views, when he was bombarded with esoteric and specialized questions which even an educationist chairman would have been hard pressed to answer.

"So are you going to close any universities?" asked one hack in a final attempt to get a story.

The council would not be making recommendations about specific institutions, Mr McCallum explained. But if a university were axed, this would be the first time in the nation's history.

"What about the University of Fraserburgh?" the reporter demanded.

Mr McCallum looked startled. "The University of Fraserburgh was closed in the 17th century. It is quite clear you haven't read the first volume of James Scotland's *History of Scottish Education*."

The STEAC report is now complete and was this week submitted to the Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr George Younger.

Mr McCallum cheerfully admits he has still not got around to reading James Scotland's tome. But if he is obliged to face a second press interrogation, he can claim with justification to know a great deal more about Scottish higher education than most educationists.

He was not alone in having to learn the intricacies of a complex system, since the minority of council members had a background in education. The vice chairman, Dr Tom Bone, principal of Jordanhill College of Education; Sir Alwyn Williams, principal of Glasgow University; Dr Harry Curran, principal of Dundee College of Technology; and Dr Ethel Gray, former principal of Craigie College of Education were matched by Mr Aubrey Harper, former technical director of the Nobel Explosives Company; Mr Allan Smith, managing director of Babcock Tower; Mr Norman Biggart, former president of the Law Society of Scotland; and Mr Duncan MacLeod, partner in a Glasgow chartered accountants firm.

There has been criticism about the lack of representation

There have been criticism, particularly from the educational unions, about lack of representation on the council. They will not be heartened to discover that as well as reading through 185 submissions from organizations and individuals, the council called in only one group for further questioning, the principals of the universities, the central institutions and the colleges of education.

However, one reason George Younger appointed Mr McCallum as chairman was that he would not feel under pressure to fight for a particular educational sector or interest.

The chairman of STEAC's predecessor, the Council for Tertiary Education in Scotland, was a former secretary of the Scottish Education Department. Cynics will point out that the SED has provided STEAC's secretariat and an SED assessor has attended its 24 meetings, but in fact the department has made no attempt to influence the council's conclusions. The SED's secretary, James Scott, has made it clear there is no point in an independent advisory body unless it maintains its independence.

STEAC's remit, to advise the Scottish Secretary on the funding of higher education, and on the principles,

which should govern the links between the universities and other institutions, is a radical departure from any formal review in its inclusion of the eight Scottish universities.

The argument in the past has been that since they are funded nationally, through the University Grants Committee, they can only be considered nationally.

But the reviews launched by the UGC and the National Advisory body have left Scotland in an anomalous position since the Scottish universities dovetail with an educational system completely different from that south of the border.

School leavers enter higher education, often at 17, with four or five

The council is convinced of the value of trade-based degrees

highers as opposed to two or three A levels. And while some advanced further education courses are taught through local authority colleges, in the main higher education is provided by the universities, and by the SED-funded central institutions and colleges of education.

Whatever future STEAC proposes for the Scottish universities, it has clearly been convinced of the value of their distinctive broad-based three-year general degrees and four-year honours degrees which are less specialized than those in England and Wales.

Its timetable was extended to take account of the government's Green Paper on higher education which scrupulously avoided any hint of preempting the council's conclusions. STEAC in return has felt no obligation to follow any government lead.

And while the council does not make recommendations either on individual institutions or specific subject areas, it backs the full range of current courses continuing in Scottish higher education institutions.

Obviously a major concern of STEAC, highlighted by its having an industrialist chairman, is how best education can meet the needs of industry. And the Scottish philosophy of a more general education has been stressed in innumerable submissions as producing graduates who are better able to adapt to the changing needs of the job market than those who undergo highly specialized courses.

A problem which STEAC highlights is that the drop in the number of school leavers comes just as many of the newer industries, which are hoping to expand, are already experiencing severe recruitment shortages.

Many of the submissions attacked as over-pessimistic the SED's projections which showed the demand for higher education dropping to 60 per cent of this year's peak level by the end of the century.

STEAC has apparently been working from revised figures which show a drop over the next 10 years to between 70 and 80 per cent of current school-leaver entrants to higher education.

Present intakes could be maintained if the number of school leavers going on to higher education rises from below 20 per cent to 30 per cent. But STEAC is likely to recommend measures to help more mature students come in. The council will not emerge as the saviour of the college of education sector, however. The figures it has used show a reduction in the demand for teachers because of the falling birth rate, and that there may be a slight increase this is unlikely to reach current levels of college capacity.

The Scottish Secretary is expected to issue the STEAC report as a consultation paper by the end of this month. Whatever its conclusions, Mr McCallum is guaranteed a paragraph in any future history of Scottish education. And if STEAC's blueprint brings the universities under SED control, he may even have his own chapter.

Patricia Woodward and Patrick Dalton on the 'bedside' approach to undergraduate law schooling

It is possible to teach and study law in a way which presents it as a set of rules, so as to achieve considerable success in examinations with little attention to the frequent ineffectiveness in practice. The study of law in England and Wales has suffered much from this concentration on the so-called "rules" - law as it is generally understood by the layman. It is usually presented in this way in textbooks dealing with particular branches of law, by Acts of Parliament and by judges when deciding cases in the appellate courts. An example of such a rule of principle is the one of liability which entitles a person injured by negligence to sue for damages.

But the study of this type of rule can be misleading. First, by aiming for a precise definition of what is meant by liability it overemphasizes the rule's inflexibility. Second, it tells you nothing about the hundred and one ways in which a law can be modified in its practical application.

The influences which can make the effects of the law in action different from the purposes described in the books are many and sometimes so complex that they defy precise description. Sometimes it might be distasteful to admit them. A few examples are: almost the whole of the law of evidence; procedure; costs; delays; incompetence; prejudice; discretion; psychological factors. Some of these are the subject of formal study at practical level. Others however are absent - they form an unmentionable caste of topics. Yet wise lawyers are winning cases and advantages through knowledge of them every day of the week.

One of the great problems of the law is the claiming of legal rights. Say, for example, you are accused of stealing goods from a shop. You are not guilty and you have elected trial by jury at Crown Court. A finding of your innocence will depend upon: the quality of interview by your solicitor; the choice of counsel by your solicitor though even at the last moment your case might be passed on to less experienced counsel; the quality of witnesses for prosecution and defence; the ability and conscious and unconscious sympathies of the judge in his interventions and address to the jury; the composition of the jury.

If you are found guilty the sentence you receive will again depend to a significant extent on the value judgements, for example, counsel, judge and probation officer. The Theft Act 1968 provides an elaborate definition of the physical and mental elements of the crime of theft. The crime is punishable by a maximum of 10 years' imprisonment. The chances are that the Theft Act will present no legal problems at the trial. Yet facts, mistakes, lies and incompetence might bring disaster to you.

What part did legal rules play in all this? It might have been more useful to have known that the store had suffered so much shoplifting that the management, police and the public were "up in arms". These issues are more serious than the "faults", inconsistencies or perceived injustices. Reform can often cure these. Legislation can however do little to change human nature and psychology. It can influence behaviour, but human behaviour easily changes. Sometimes much of the law's effectiveness is destroyed in this transmission process.

Human factors in the legal process must be accepted not merely as an aberration, which sometimes knocks the shine off the law, but as a normal, natural or "scientific" fact. As such, it can perhaps be brought more fully into subject study and not abandoned to the street-wise lawyer.

Let us now turn to a higher level study of law. Most people would recognize that when Parliament makes new law, considerable moral, philosophical, economic and social factors come into play. Policies and politics shape the new law. What would not be so generally accepted is that these same value judgements strongly influence the way in which existing law, whether derived from Acts of Parliament or previous case law, is interpreted and applied by the judges when they decide cases before them.

Everyone knows that there are some areas of law which are uncertain. In fact, influences which are not really legal or logical are continually changing the law's shape. The principle of negligence has several centuries of history behind it, but it achieved its present definition more than 50 years



Case for the prosecution of clinical trials

ago. Yet the kind of behaviour which is considered negligent can vary from age to age but also as regards different activities at the same time in history. These changes have nothing to do with the internal logic of the law, but reflect the value judgements of our society as perceived by the judge.

An example might illustrate this. Social and economic necessity led to the replacement of horses as a form of road transport by motor vehicles. Although roads have improved enormously over this period of replacement, very similar margins for avoidance of collision of vehicles have been inherited from the age of horse transport. Yet cars travel at much greater speeds than horses. Motorists are nevertheless permitted, indeed obliged, to avoid collisions by a matter of feet or even inches. Thousands of injuries and deaths result from this tiny margin of error every year. Our society accepts this. Near misses do not of themselves constitute negligence.

In the case of air travel, however, all is different. There were no flying horses before aeroplanes came along. A pilot who is responsible for a near miss, even though no one is injured as a result, can expect disciplinary action. The notion of negligence is indeed a legal chameleon. Value judgements lurk very closely beneath the surface of much of our law. When the law is expressed in sufficiently elastic terms it can appear to be unchanging. Sometimes, however, the words describing legal rules and principles might not be sufficiently flexible to accommodate some social, economic and other pressure to which judges feel obliged to respond.

Sometimes they have to admit defeat and leave it to Parliament to provide a remedy. Often however they can develop the law themselves. So anxious are they, however, not to appear to be changing the law that they elevate such pressure to the status of a principle of law - a kind of super rule which takes it place tidily with all the other legal "rules". This rule is called "public policy" or simply "policy".

One of the most striking examples of its application was by the House of Lords in 1962, acting in its role as the highest court, when it virtually invented a new crime of "conspiracy to corrupt public morals".

Lord Simonds stated: "There remains in the courts of law a residual power to enforce the supreme and fundamental purpose of law, to protect not only the safety and order but

also the moral welfare of the state." The rather spectacular impact of this and some other cases where "policy" has been applied tend to suggest that policy is a super rule which makes a very occasional, if drastic, intervention into the legal landscape, rather like a volcano. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"Policy" is at work every day quietly influencing not only commonplace judicial decisions but also the negotiations which seek to avoid going to law and innumerable other relationships within the legal landscape. Again the point being made is that "policy" in legal study should not be approached as an occasional aberration in the practice of law, for which special provision has been made, but as a perfectly natural and "scientific" element in every part of the law. As such it is not an embarrassment but a normal phenomenon. It should be studied as such.

It is not suggested that these and other higher philosophical levels of legal study are never touched upon in the conventional studies of specific areas of law such as contract or crime. Traditionally however they have been skimmed off as a separate subject, usually called "jurisprudence" or "legal theory". That subject is often disliked by law students because it can seem irrelevant to their other areas of study.

A true study of law would integrate these approaches. In a very few law schools this country some fusion has been achieved through "clinical" legal education, thereby offering students a more realistic view of law. We shall suggest that such a study, besides correcting some of the distortions mentioned earlier, can also bestow considerable educational advantages on students who take the study of Clinical legal education as the study of law in action or simulation action. The analogy is with the "bedside" teaching enjoyed by medical students. It is not possible, within the present structure of the legal profession, to provide that kind of education - practice married to theory.

Clinical legal education does attempt however to make the best of whatever opportunities exist. For example at some law schools students, under close supervision, have given practical legal advice to clients from a legal aid centre. While the advantages of first hand experience is apparent, such a programme as well as being particularly costly in time and staff resources suffers from this prob-

lem of having to accommodate the vicissitudes of the legal process within a fixed timetable. An attractive alternative is to involve students in a simulated case study.

Here, through a programme of role playing exercises centred around a defined legal issue and involving such techniques as drafting, interviewing, negotiating and advocacy, the student is required to take a broad and comprehensive appraisal of the nature of law which puts the refined description of law which is presented in a different perspective. Short placements in solicitors' offices or barristers' chambers as well as court and other visits can supplement this programme.

Here it is not just the learning methodology which is important, though the process effectively serves to bridge the gap between practice and theory, but the medium also serves as the message. The students come to appreciate through experience that these legal rights principles and doctrine which have been set in concrete in the pages of legal texts and judgments may in fact be available to the citizen in spite of, rather than because of, the operation of the rules and personnel of the legal system, and that the law has real practical rather than merely intellectual consequences.

Of course the clinical approach cannot cure all the deficiencies and distortions of conventional legal education. We might briefly note however some of its benefits and wonder why law courses unlike medicine, chemistry, physics, engineering, architecture, music, pictorial and sculptural art, languages or drama have contented themselves with so little first-hand participation in subject study.

Clinical legal education brings home to students that legal problems do not often present themselves under the neat subject divisions which are chosen for the purpose of academic study. Human problems and enterprises pay little respect to the labels of traditional legal writings and study but frequently cut across them. The subject matter of complex litigation rarely confines itself to well delineated chapters in the current legal text. Clinical study also illustrates that before the legal issue is identified and agreed, there come into play a matrix of practical skills and issues crucially important in the delivery of legal rights, so confidently described in books, but sometimes lost through lack of such non-legal attributes as human psychology, the tech-

nique of communication and persuasion, knowledge of the norms of behaviour of different classes of people, and the ability to grasp the outline of expert subjects ranging from a gear box to a heart valve.

Clinical method not only emphasizes but can also develop personal qualities in students, since law can be presented as a service and not only as a business. By bringing abstract legal rules into direct contact with everyday human problems clinical method puts law into an environment fit for its purpose. It can bring perspective to legal studies in other ways, by showing that law is on the scene not only where there is dispute or conflict but that it can be about positive planning in order to avoid dispute or to bring about conciliation. Sometimes law is not an appropriate means of problem resolution and should retire from the scene altogether to make way for other influences. On the other hand, there are problems which are particularly appropriate for legal solution but which are not readily perceived as such, particularly by the disadvantaged.

Clinical study also helps to universalize law as between social classes. Subject classifications in law as studied tend to elevate the transient economic and social policies of one era into permanent philosophy, and enshrine their outfall in legal principles and rules. The economic policy of laissez-faire of the 19th century, for instance, begot such a sturdy legal principle, "freedom of contract", that even today Parliament is continually obliged to correct this general legal theme in the interests of particular classes of consumers who need protection from it.

Academic lawyers often see this parliamentary activity as an aberration of dogma and principle. The market place ethics still largely dominate the service which the legal profession gives to the public. The fund of legal skills and advice in the field of property conveyance, company formation, tax avoidance and up-market commerce far outweighs the availability of assistance in the vast field of welfare law, landlord and tenant and smaller consumer claims.

By concerning itself with everyday legal issues, those problems and disputes affecting thousands of ordinary people, which however do not possess any exceptional legal interest, clinical study fills in the gaps left by legal study which is very much concerned with the new frontiers of law - the few dozens of Court of Appeal decisions rather than the thousands of day-to-day applications of principle to variable fact situations. The practical problems of piloting a legally commonplace problem to a safe harbour are demanding, though in a different way from those attending an appeal on a fine point of law on behalf of a rich corporation which can afford to run a test case in the Court of Appeal.

Clinical study is intellectually economical and an enjoyable teaching and learning method. Doing a process rather than learning it seems to address an older and more docile area of the mind than that which serves rote learning. Much of the training of lawyers even at professional level is still carried out in the classroom and depends upon rote learning. Examinations are conducted exclusively on that basis. This is equivalent to music students being taught how to play the piano while seated at desks, flinching to instruction on technique illustrated by a diagram of a keyboard on the blackboard; and then being examined on the instructions without even playing a note of music.

It can also be claimed that clinical teaching can be beneficial to the tutor. The present system of legal education, has a tendency to perpetuate itself. There is too little interflow between the practising and teaching branches of the profession, and too much suspicion from academics who consider that skill-centred learning lacks academic rigour. In fact there should be no conflict in a well-educated student becoming a well-educated practitioner. Through a process of demystification, clinical education from its broad base is able to identify the aims purposes and nature of law and of laws.

By confronting the legal process with all, clinical education promotes and nurtures that healthy scepticism which is essential to proper legal scholarship practice and reform.

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Harold Silver

In anticipation of awards and other great things

An interesting, creative and imaginative month.

Jeffrey Archer, setting out to help his party chairman and party towards a new image, blamed the unemployed for unemployment, then retracted, and nominated Ian Paisley for the prime ministership of a united Ireland, then didn't. Sarah Keays, in pursuit of a Conservative constituency, nominated Cecil Parkinson for the annual Avoidance of Official Secrecy Prize. The PLO nominated Sir Geoffrey Howe for the International Anti-Diplomacy Award. The Foreign Office, apologizing for getting the message wrong in Nassau, nominated itself for the International Relations by Hearsay Award. Sir Keith Joseph continued to press his nomination for the best British Secretary for Education since Mark Carlsile.

Sir Keith becomes editor of *The THES*

The silly season used to be in midsummer, but since meteorological slippage located British 1985 summer time in late September, it is understandable that Archer et al took so long. I am assuming that this will all continue unabated, and I am therefore now drafting my end-of-year column.

December 31, 1985 - The Prime Minister, while expressing her reluctance, yielded to pressure from Sir Keith Joseph, and has by special legislation amalgamated *The Times Higher Education Supplement* and *The Times Educational Supplement*, under the editorship of Sir Keith Joseph. This rationalization, a logical development of rationalization in public sector higher education, will also involve HM Inspectorate doing journalistic duty for the combined paper - the present staff having been offered the same redundancy terms as the coal miners. Sir Keith takes on his new duties in addition to his recently acquired chairmanship of the combined Committee of Vice-Chancellors, Directors and Principals, and the secretaryship of the combined National Confederation of School Teachers. His salary is to be fixed when the comparability data have been compiled.

Sir Keith, it appears, has invited Norman Tebbit and Jeffrey Archer to co-operate in the publicity campaign to explain the forthcoming closure of the National Advisory Board, which has totally failed to close down the 55 colleges and institutes of higher education. Pending the demise of the NAB later next year it is expected that Jeffrey Archer will replace Christopher Ball as chairman of the board.

All future publicity regarding teachers' salaries is to be conducted by the Foreign Office.

The Royal Proclamation on the strengthening of the arts and humanities has been widely welcomed. Jeffrey Archer's appointment as the new Regius Professor of Prose Literature at Oxford had been rumoured, and represents an important move away from the trow towards vocationalism in the modern British university. The creation of a new Novelist Laureate to parallel, and perhaps even collaborate with, the Poet Laureate, is a well-guarded secret, and had a mixed reception until Jeffrey Archer's appointment to that position also was announced. His authority and experience will undoubtedly strengthen the position of the creative arts in British society, but some doubts have been expressed about the wisdom of taking on another responsibility (particularly since it is known that the Irish government is also anxious to use his talents).

The Department of Education and Times Supplement has already

announced a series of Laureate stories to be published monthly from January to October.

It is not yet known what the third item in the Royal Proclamation is going to mean in detail. All that is known so far is that the Arts Council has been finally disbanded, and that the British Council is to take on the function of distributing overseas such representative British cultural journals as the DETS, Laureate literature, and CNDP and NCSP information about the emergent shape of British education. It is expected that an announcement regarding a Royal Commission on Education and the Arts will be made during the Christmas recess. The likely chairman is not yet known, but it is rumoured that it may be someone in a university humanities post who enjoys government confidence.

The position in Scotland is far from clear, particularly since it is only a few days since teacher unionism was declared to be illegal there. There is also apparently some dispute over who should prepare the promised Green Paper - the Overseas Development Administration or the Foreign Office.

Oxford is clearly one of the places to watch. The university, announcing its new procedures for the award of honorary degrees to its Prime Minister alumnus and alumnæ, has angrily and rightly denied that there is any connection with the endorsement of the Regius chair. It is not yet known what role Sir Keith Joseph, as a Fellow of All Souls, is playing or is likely to play in the new procedure.

The All Souls Group, a little-known but apparently influential network of educationists, is known to have planned a programme of seminars for 1986 under the general title of "Efficiency and Clarity in British Public Life". The following appears to be the draft programme:

January 1986: Norman Tebbit to open discussion on "The Role of Deputies as Party Spokesmen".

March: Sir Geoffrey Howe on "The Foreign Office since Nassau".

May: Sir Geoffrey Howe and the Prime Minister to speak on "Negotiating Successfully with Men of Peace".

July: "How to Close an Industry: I", introduced by Ian McGee.

September: "How to Close an Industry: II", introduced by Arthur Scargill.

October: "Society without Schools", introduced by Sir Keith Joseph.

December: "Society without Higher Education", introduced by Sir Keith Joseph.

Sir Keith becomes director of PNL

Plans are also in hand for a special "round table" at which a panel of speakers will discuss "Clarity and Purpose in the Public Statement". Speakers involved so far include Jeffrey Archer, Miss Sara Keays and the Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office. It is unlikely that Sir Keith Joseph will be able to take on another commitment, since he is expected to re-establish the Schools Council under his chairmanship, and he will in due course be taking over the directorship of the Polytechnic of North London (Lord Young has apparently agreed to take over as acting director for a period of one year).

At the time of writing speculation is rife about the New Year's Honours List. It is not impossible that Sarah Keays will be offered a life peerage, given the difficulties over a constituency. It may be early days for either Sir Geoffrey Howe or Sir Keith Joseph to be sent to the Lords. There are constitutional problems about an award to Ian Paisley. Jeffrey Archer's future may be less in doubt.



Managing to break the mould

Roger Bennett on training women for careers as business executives

When asked to describe a typical manager, most people still think first of a male business executive with a female secretary; and it is an incontrovertible fact that the great majority of managerial employees are male. In the United States, there have been attempts - in universities and elsewhere - to persuade more women to begin managerial careers. There are special executive development programmes for women, and female entry to university Master of Business Administration programmes is actively encouraged.

Such initiatives have not, unfortunately, been paralleled in Britain, but there is growing female participation on courses in science and engineering which themselves contain significant elements of management studies. All post-Finistion BEng and MEng degrees now include management and marketing, and there are special women-only Higher National Certificates in engineering which incorporate supervisory skills and business administration. Properly taught and developed, these courses could provide vehicles for entry to management careers for suitably minded women, especially in the new high-technology industries that absorb most graduates from women's engineering programmes.

Women face unique difficulties within, and immediately beyond, and introductory engineering competence with management training could actually result in reduced status for women involved in engineering management work.

Existing syllabuses and approaches to management training should be modified for women's courses; we should recognize the enormity of the cultural pressures which combine to dissuade women from entering management, and we should take account of contemporary changes in the nature of managerial work in many high-tech industries which sharpen distinctions between executives and supervisory management to the detriment of female employees.

Few young women are motivated towards management careers; hardly surprising in a cultural environment saturated with visual images of women that are fundamentally incompatible with female occupancy of responsible management positions. Magazines, tabloid newspapers, posters and, in particular, television advertisements portray women as narcissistic, seductive creatures dedicated only to attracting the opposite sex. Continuous repetition of this stereotype must create doubts and misgivings in the minds of young women contemplating engineering management careers. Our cultural value systems embody concepts of male dominance; women are taught to rely on men. In consequence, many women distrust the small handful of females who do occupy positions of authority outside the home.

Media infantilization of woman's role, and the absence of significant numbers of women managers for new entrants to emulate, must dissuade many potential recruits. Senior female managers are unusual. It is a fact, alas, that few women have successfully combined the roles of wife, mother and business executive.

Task-oriented engineering management jobs, which demand intellectual and technical expertise, could

protected and cosseted by men, with managerial posts be exposed, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to indifference and aggression from males. I am sceptical of the argument that within a mixed course female students can experience negative male attitudes during class and learn how to accommodate them. It is much better that explicit training in coping with male resentment be given in a controlled environment away from competitive pressures. Likewise, teaching women to recognize the danger of entrapment in supervisory work offering no promotion opportunities will enable them to avoid consciously such situations.

Supervisory skills are important, but female students should be aware also of issues relevant to higher level work. An all-female course can offer special assistance in career planning - an area where women require more advice than male contemporaries because of their need to identify firms with supportive and sympathetic management development programmes that recognize the specific problems associated with the female manager's role, and which operate rational and objective promotions systems.

Ask practising managers to list the personal qualities most relevant to management and two categories of attributes are usually quoted. First: analytical ability - perception, consistency, objectivity and empathy with others; qualities which a well-constructed, well-taught, management course should instill and develop. The second category, however, concerns values which, in early life, females are encouraged to avoid, particularly individual assertiveness, command and overt personal determination. Too many women find leadership roles unacceptably stressful; their technical abilities are nullified by inability to assume positions of authority because of psychological fears.

Yet another advantage of a segregated women's course is that it can provide training in assertiveness for women. This is common in educational programmes for women in medicine and social work, and should be extended to women's courses in engineering and business. Assertiveness training seeks to convince individuals that they have rights: to express themselves forcefully, to be heard, to make mistakes, fail and try again until success occurs. Training women in particular management skills is not sufficient: women must be made to feel, as well as be, competent; to have faith in their abilities to apply successfully their technical expertise.

Confrontations with male prejudices are inevitable during a female executive's early career: some will be unpleasant. Women managers who do achieve promotion will find they have fewer and fewer female colleagues of equivalent rank, and hence their need for positive attitudes towards women's rights in the workplace will correspondingly increase. Women managers can succeed only by fighting harder, longer, and against greater opposition than male counterparts.

The women's course can incorporate instruction on how to react to male hostility in work situations. Women, related in environments where they are

one imagines - be immune from sex discrimination. A major barrier to female success in management work has been women's inability to gain access to male-dominated informal power groups which operate through tacit, unwritten rules and which possess their own, unofficial structures.

These are enormously influential in selection and promotion procedures and provide essential supportive relationships to men during periods of crisis and stress. Will increasing demands for technically competent managerial staff, in conjunction with an ever-growing supply of professionally qualified, able, females, cause these barriers to collapse; or will the situation actually worsen? Managerial women could find themselves employed predominantly in jobs requiring technical skill, but at lower status (and wages) than male colleagues.

Often, a woman enters management as a member of a team assigned to a special project. She gains experience "on the job" and, as her talents are recognized, she assumes additional supervisory responsibilities. But higher management will not provide access to internal job rotation schemes, external courses, planned experience programmes necessary for acquiring the wider experience and background knowledge essential for occupancy of senior positions. Consequently, the woman never becomes involved in strategic planning; rather she implements the decisions of others, unable to relate her immediate tasks to wider managerial contexts.

The high-tech industries do present opportunities for women in "sexless" skill areas, but dangers exist of the emergence of a new class of qualified, competent, female supervisors offering technical support to (male) senior management in manners analogous to the secretarial support provided by female secretaries. Real authority will still remain within its male-dominated system.

Women require segregated, all-female, courses in engineering management, with special syllabuses to meet their particular training needs. Male students begin engineering and management courses with inbuilt advantages gained from earlier life experiences. Males are expected to be interested in scientific subjects; to be assertive, positive and direct; they receive unconsciously from childhood onwards psychological training in how to cope with competitive situations. Mixed courses inevitably develop around a male cultural ethic which advantages, find difficult to counteract. Too often, male students adopt casually dismissive attitudes towards the contributions in class of female colleagues, and, disturbingly, women students often accept such trivialization of their comments as a natural and reasonable response.

The women's course can incorporate instruction on how to react to male hostility in work situations. Women, related in environments where they are

The author, a management consultant, teaches an EEC-funded course in electronics for women at South Bank Polytechnic and women's business courses at the Polytechnic of Central London.

Like all international crises, the Manchurian crisis of 1931 had its regional and international aspects. As often happens, these did not match. The regional issue was the seizure of a large part of the Chinese territory of Manchuria by the Japanese military - a process of absorption which took the Japanese six months from September 1931. The international aspects of the crisis were the unwillingness of the powers individually to become drawn in and the ineffective involvement of the League of Nations at the request of the Chinese. Since this international aspect claimed the attention of the world from September 1931 till March 1933, it has tended to be this that has claimed the attention of historians.

The regional aspect can be looked at from either a Chinese or a Japanese point of view. In the Chinese view, Manchuria was governed in 1931 by the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, who had declared his loyalty to the central government of the Kuomintang since 1928. He governed with a great measure of independence as had his father before him; but his rule could be tyrannical and oppressive and it was not popular among all classes of Chinese. If the territory enjoyed in practice a great measure of autonomy, there could be little doubt that in law it was part of the republic of China. To that end it was referred to by the Chinese as the "three eastern provinces".

On September 18, 1931, on the pretext that their railway line had been damaged by Chinese troops, the Japanese armies occupied key points in south and central Manchuria. At the end of the war 15 years later it was confirmed that the damage had been inflicted on the railway track by the Japanese themselves. When the Young Marshal appealed for help from Nanking, the Kuomintang government excused itself on the grounds that it was preoccupied with the aftermath of the floods which had devastated central China during the summer and, second, that its first priority was to suppress opposition from dissidents elsewhere in China. Without that aid the Young Marshal was unable to resist the Japanese armies effectively and had to pull out along the railway line to the west, leaving his capital of Mukden (Shenyang) to Japanese control.

In the Japanese view, Japan's stake in Manchuria was exceptional. Since the treaty of Portsmouth which had brought the Russo-Japanese war to a halt in 1905, Japan had possessed that portion of the Russian railway which ran between Port Arthur and Changchun. She had renounced it the South Manchurian Railway and considerable additions had been made to it over 25 years. Japan had also acquired the Russian leasehold territory at the southern tip of "Manchuria", which took in the naval base of Port Arthur (Lushan) and the commercial port of Dairen (Talien). She had the right to maintain there a garrison made up of her Kwantung army, arguably the most extreme part of the Japanese army.

With her treaty rights in the area, her efficient communications network and her military power, Japan had built up a strong commercial stake in the territory. Perhaps because of Japan's presence, Manchuria had become one of the most prosperous parts of the Chinese Republic. The Chinese who looked on jealously at Japan's success, retaliated with a boycott of Japanese goods in the ports and cities

Japanese wolf in the Chinese fold

Crisis: in the second of our occasional series on political and social turning points of the last half-century, Ian Nish looks at the Japanese annexation of Manchuria.

of China proper. This started in 1927 and grew more and more effective as an expression of Chinese nationalism from 1930 onwards. The Japanese saw this as a violation of their treaty rights and a sure sign that the Nanking government was unable to maintain law and order.

There were many differing Japanese views about how to respond to the boycotts and other vexations visited by the Chinese on Japanese enterprises in Manchuria. Considering all the different authorities which operated in the territory - railway, military, commercial and diplomatic - there was naturally a wide range of attitudes towards the problem. While the diplomats were trying to obtain a negotiated settlement with the Chinese at Nanking, the Kwantung army, which condemned this "weak-kneed approach", took the law into its own hands and staged the coup on September 18.

Their action was carried out without the explicit authorization of the Tokyo cabinet, indeed against its instructions, and may not have been known to its own commander-in-chief beforehand. The Kwantung army authorities in Mukden (Shenyang), reacting to the news they received of the alleged explosion on their railway, merely put into force a contingency plan to take over control of the area of the Japanese railway zone.

It was an operation, efficiently conducted, which cannot have come as a complete surprise since the Japanese troops had rehearsed it only a few days earlier. Although the number of troops available was small by comparison with the vast Chinese army in the area, they achieved their objectives without major resistance. The Young Marshal was not supported by arms from Nanking. So the Kwantung army's "military solution" was rewarded with success and was overwhelmingly popular with the Japanese people.

Now we must come to the unexpected international twist to an essentially regional story. Where could the Young Marshal look for external military help? Certainly not from "the tenant of north Manchuria", the Soviet Union. The Russians, with their railway across Chinese territory from

Manchuli to Vladivostok, might have been ready to resist Japan's expansion; but they were on the worst possible terms with the Young Marshal and the Nanking government.

In the circumstances, Nanking, under the influence of Dr Wellington Koo, China's most experienced diplomat, appealed instead to the League of Nations and to the powers individually, especially the United States, which was of course not a member of the league. This was not an automatic move: China was not a founder-member of the league; she was not a regular contributor to its funds; and she had had several disputes with it. Nonetheless China had succeeded in becoming a member of the league council and was thus in a position to place the Mukden incident on the council agenda within 24 hours of its occurring. Over the next two months, the council passed resolutions calling for troops to be withdrawn and the status quo ante to be restored.

The Japanese did not welcome the matter going to an international forum and wanted direct negotiations with the Chinese without the interference of external powers. Their council representative affirmed that Kwantung army forces would withdraw as soon as the safety of their nationals was assured. Meanwhile their troops on the ground were expanding well beyond the defence of their railway zone and their airforce was bombing Chinese cities. Eventually the league council, with its messages being ignored, decided to appoint a commission of inquiry "of five members to study on the spot and to report to the council on any circumstance which... threatens to disturb peace between China and Japan".

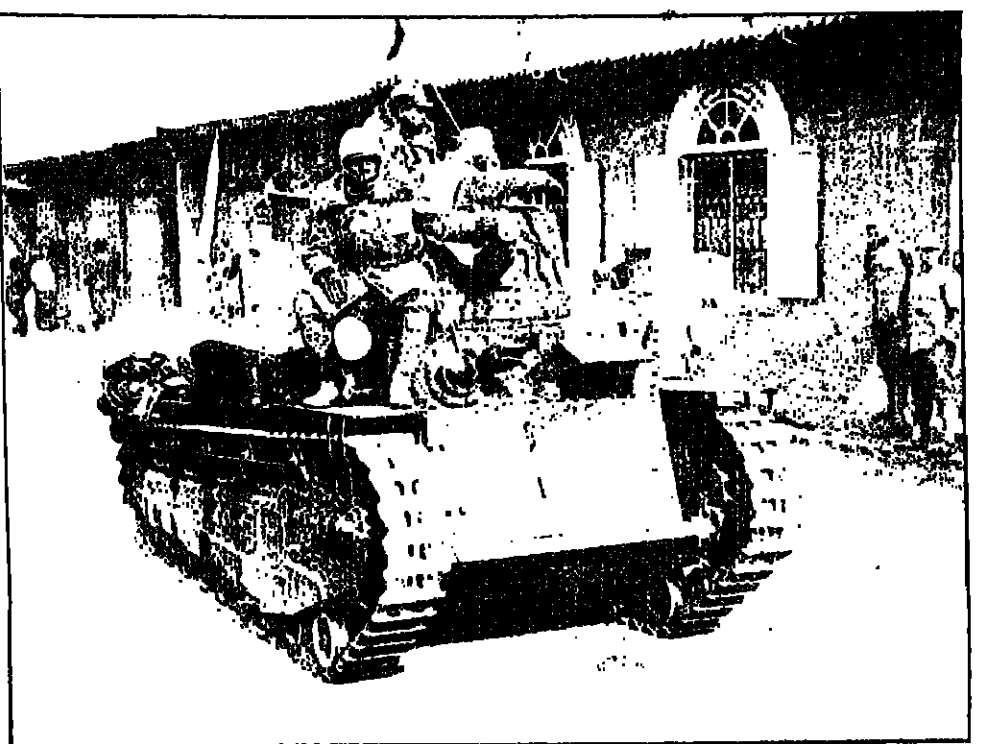
The resolution, moved by Japan, was passed on December 10. The British foreign secretary, Sir John Simon, though he described it as no solution to the problem, allowed the British representative, Lord Lytton, to reach Japan at the end of February 1932 and make his inspections in Manchuria in May. But this was too late. By then Japan's control had been consolidated and the new government of "Manchukuo", with the former emperor of China, Pu Yi, at its head as "regent", had been set up in March. The findings of the Lytton Commission - and the decisions of the League based upon them - would be interesting but inevitably academic.

The attitude of most powers to the league was one of limited liability. It was easy to make fun of the league in its infancy as the British ambassador in Tokyo had shown: "It is a scandal that these ridiculous South American countries should have four seats on council and that countries like China which have no government at all and are hopelessly in arrears with their subscriptions should ever be elected". Britain as one of the leaders of the league was wary of being tied to its instructions. And she was not unique. If the powers could not act through the league, could they have acted outside it, jointly or severally? Here there was a wide gap between profession and reality. Although many commentators advocated the imposition of economic sanctions against Japan, no one in government seriously put forward the idea in practice. In the climate of depression and financial instability, it is unlikely that any administration would have taken the initiative in such a venture.

Meanwhile, the members of the Lytton Commission were pursuing their leisurely progress around north-east Asia. While their report was being written in Peking and Tokyo, a change in the Japanese government led to the Japanese recognition of the new state of "Manchukuo" and the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with it in August. Japan's action in recognizing "Manchukuo" ran in the face of the league's ruling that none of its members should recognize it. When the Lytton report came out in September, it contained that "Manchukuo" could only have come about as a result of the actions of the Japanese armies. Otherwise the report contained balanced criticisms of both Japanese and Chinese actions.

It was debated in late November in the league council which referred the matter for almost the first time to the full assembly where opinion was much more anti-Japanese than in the smaller body. In the new year the possibility of a compromise was still being canvassed in its subcommittee; but the Japanese army, acting in disregard of the sensitive international situation, attacked and occupied Shanhaikuan, a city south of the Great Wall on the way to Peking. The struggle for a modus vivendi broke down and on February 23 the assembly endorsed the Lytton report, which in Japan's view contained unacceptable criticisms of her actions and those of her army. Her chief delegate placed on record his disagreements and then stalked out of the assembly when an almost unanimous vote against him was recorded.

On March 27, 1933, Japan gave notice of leaving the league on the ground that "Because of the profound differences of opinion existing between Japan and the majority of the league in their interpretation of the Covenant and of other treaties, the Japanese Government have been led to realize the existence of an irreconcilable divergence of views, dividing Japan and the league on the policies of peace, and especially as regards the fundamental principles to be followed



A Japanese tank, bristling with machine guns, enters Chengte, Jehol province, 1933.

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in the establishment of a durable peace in the Far East."

Henry L. Stimson, US Secretary of State for most of the crisis, wrote: "The road to World War II is now clearly visible; it has run its terrible course from the railway tracks near Mukden to the operations of two bombers over Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

This implies that the Mukden incident - and the Manchurian crisis - was the first step in the slide towards world war. This is a natural view. Historians and politicians are concerned with tracing the origins of events back as far as possible. While this can be legitimate in retrospect, it has to be said that few contemporaries had any sense of the failure to deal with Manchurian affairs on an international basis would lead to later failures to check cases of territorial expansion. For them Manchuria was a regional problem. The special characteristics of the situation which made the European powers reluctant to act were many.

First, there was the remoteness of Manchuria 6,000 miles away, and the lack of European interests there. Second, the incapacity of European states, apart from the Soviet Union, to influence the situation by any means other than naval power. This, there was the sheer difficulty of making a judgement over issues when there were, as it seemed to contemporaries, wrongs on both sides: China was unable to maintain law and order in her territories; Japan was unable to control the extreme actions of her unruly forces abroad. When, added to these regional factors, there was a natural reluctance to become entangled in events which were barely understood, it is not unexpected that there should be hesitation and inactivity.

That is not to say that there was not a sense of failure in dealing with the Manchurian crisis. As we have just observed, there was unwillingness on the part of European countries to involve themselves singly or jointly in the far eastern crisis, a serious failure of collective security.

There is no doubt that its handling of the Manchurian crisis, though legally correct, made a dent on the escutcheon of the league. This was felt not so much by the statesmen and bureaucrats who approached the matter cynically. The truth was that the league's reputation suffered in the eyes of its supporters and its enthusiasts. Insofar as the league was the repository of a great deal of the idealism of the interwar years, that idealism was punctured by the league's debates on events in Manchuria. While that idealism could be, and to some extent was, revived to cope with international crises nearer to Europe, the fact was that the failure to deal with the Manchurian crisis bred a sense of disillusion with the mechanisms of the covenant of the league to maintain international peace.

When the assembly in February 1933 backed the idea of the Lytton report that China and Japan should negotiate directly to solve the problem, it was merely a return to the solution which the Japanese had pressed for from the beginning.

The author is professor of international relations in The London School of Economics and Political Science.



Japanese troops in the station square at Changchun during the occupation of Manchuria, October 1931.

BOOKS

Volatile mix of class, kinship and ethnicity

by James Barber

Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa 1910-84
by Merle Lipton
Temple Smith/Gower, £18.50
ISBN 0851172482

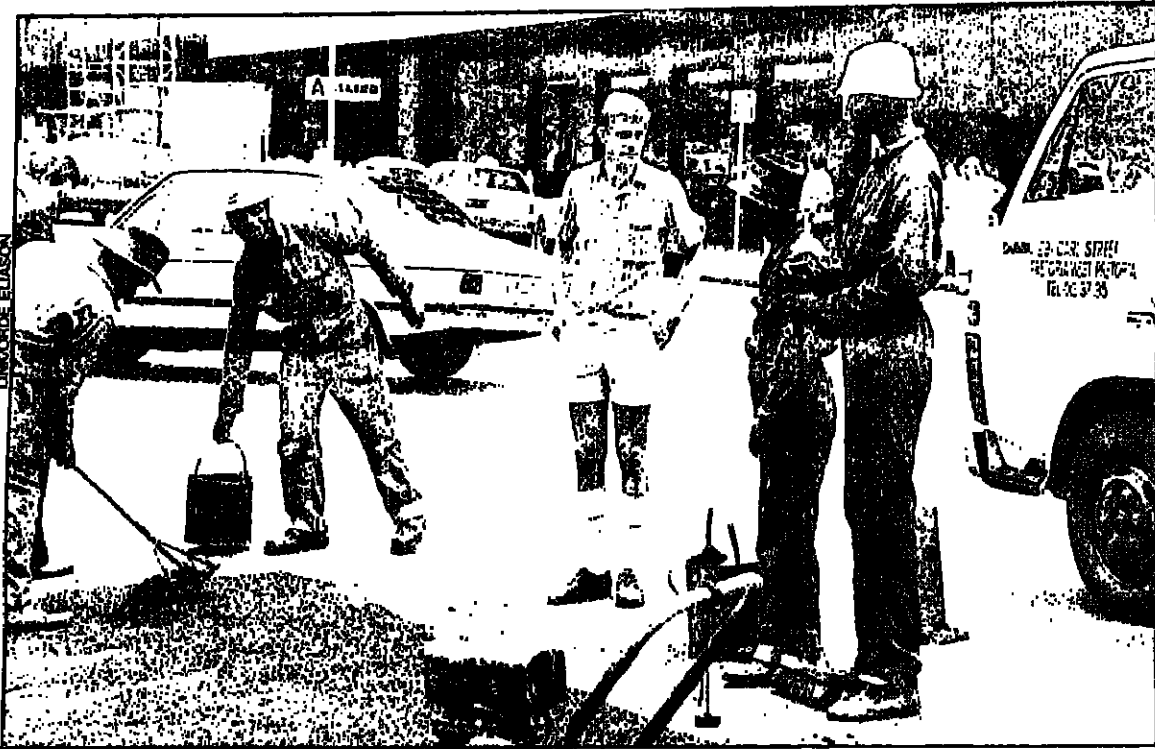
South Africa is littered with battlefields. From the past stand the sites of conflict where the moving frontiers of black and white settlements clashed and where the Boer challenged British imperialism. Today the scenes of battle have moved to the black townships, to Namibia, and to the Republic's borders where raid is followed by counter raid. Not to be outdone scholars have created their own battlefields. On one of these a fierce and continuing struggle is fought over the relationship between economic and political development, and more particularly, the link, if any, between capitalism and apartheid. Merle Lipton, already well established from her previous publications, has rejoined the fray with this major study which is destined to play a central part in the controversy. She brings together years of research work and presents it with clarity and drive.

The foundation of the work is a pluralist interpretation based on the interplay of "interests". From the onset Lipton boldly declares that social development rests largely on perceived interests and the ability to secure those interests. Later, when she turns to political power, she states that the test of power "lies in whose will prevails in a conflict of interest". According to Lipton, the major component of human behaviour is self-interest, but that does not preclude moral concerns and emotional preferences, and when the self-interest is enlightened - in South Africa's case reducing racial discrimination and inequality - it should be strongly encouraged. The social groups that emerge from the pursuit of interests are formed from a compound of factors (including race and culture) but time after time she returns to the importance of economic interests. Her view of Afrikaner nationalism, for instance, is that despite all the ideological baggage about race, despite the appeals to a distinctive cultural group, "economic issues - pork barrel politics - were always a prime concern".

With such an emphasis on economic factors it might be thought that Lipton was close to or sympathetic towards recent Marxist interpretations. Not so - in fact this study will infuriate Marxists. It will infuriate them because Lipton argues that South Africa's capitalists have never been unambiguously in favour of apartheid; that the power of capitalism in relation to the state has been very uneven so that at times it has had little influence; and that in recent years capitalist development has brought benefits for some (although certainly not all) blacks by narrowing the wage gap between them and white workers.

It will also infuriate Marxists because Lipton argues that continued economic growth in South Africa offers the possibility of future improvements in mass living standards if the barriers of apartheid can be broken. South Africa's economy was founded on the development of primary products in agriculture and mining. While the country has been fortunate in the range and scale of its natural resources, and while their development involved the harsh exploitation of black labour with the surplus product being channelled away from blacks, the entrepreneurial skill of capitalists has also played an important part. Unlike many African and Latin American states, says Lipton, "the surplus was not frittered away on showpieces and luxuries, or funnelled to Swiss bank accounts - although there was some of this - but went overwhelmingly into productive investment". In that sense South Africa's economic path has been more like the West than independent black Africa.

Lipton's argument therefore does not favour the ending of capitalism but a more even distribution of rewards and the pursuit of interests that will break down racism. One of the barriers to that is the presence of a white



Pretoria: a black road gang supervised by a white overseer.

bureaucracy (the old white working class transformed) which resists change and reform because its members fear the loss of jobs and status and the insecurity that would follow the collapse of the system they maintain. According to one ex-government minister the bureaucracy behaves like a tortoise - moving slowly at best and stopping entirely when threatened. Turning to other scholars Lipton believes that the different analyses of South African society have not rested on a broad division between "liberals" who place their emphasis on ethnic/racial issues and Marxists who concentrate on the economic base of society. Rather the division is between "those who accord primacy to economic and class interests (for liberals this means income maximization for personal utility; for Marxists class accumulation and power) and those who accord it to ethnic security and power". Clearly Lipton is in the "income maximization for personal utility" camp so that her analysis challenges not just the Marxists but those who give primacy to ethnic factors.

Lipton's study displays the characteristic strengths of a pluralist analysis - identifying well the complexity of the society, bringing out the dynamic nature of social interactions, and under-

lining the relationship between different social activities. These strengths are well illustrated in the chapters on capitalism. Criticizing Marxists for adopting a static analysis, Lipton argues that capitalism in South Africa should not be seen as a single unit. Instead she divides it into three main sectors - agriculture, mining and manufacturing - with differences of interest both between the sectors and within them. For instance, while many years white farming capital combined with white labour to support apartheid (because it favoured both of them) manufacturing capitalists have never supported the policy because of its adverse effects on their labour market, restricting both the competition for jobs and the flow of skilled labour. Yet circumstances change, and as a result of technological changes and shifting labour patterns there is now a division of interests within the farming sector, between "progressive" farmers, who no longer depend on apartheid, and inefficient "marginal" farmers who do. In summary, therefore, far from seeing a unified capitalist class Lipton emphasizes "the key role played by conflicts of interest among capitalists".

Yet Lipton's approach also suffers the limitations of a pluralist analysis.

One of these is where among the complexity, the interactions, and the shifting social forces do we focus attention in seeking explanations? In this case the question arises most clearly in the long chapter on "The Changing Balance of Political Power", which covers more than a hundred pages, but mercifully is well subdivided. The account is strongly drawn, the points well made, but the chapter is more a collection of separate incisive points than a coherent synthesis. Lipton's response might well be that South Africa's political development has been complex and to try to reduce it to a few clear cut explanations is to invite simplification. However, the dilemma of wrestling with complexity while employing concepts that can be self-standing is illustrated in Lipton's explanation of Afrikaner nationalism. She says that neither race, nor culture alone explains it. The key, she says, is a combination of class interests and ethnic ties (an "ethnic class" as she describes it) reinforced by kinship ties, a shared history of suffering, and a competitive social setting. Neither class nor race categories seem able "to contain the force and complexity - and yet instability of this combination of ethnicity, class and kinship".

Another query about a pluralist

approach is whether in concentrating attention on social interactions, it ignores or takes for granted a structure within which these interactions take place. In this case those who are criticized by Lipton for giving pre-eminence to race or class might respond that these have and continue to provide the structure for social, economic and political activity in South Africa.

Marxist scholars who have spent much effort in the analysis of the mining industry will doubtless challenge Lipton's interpretation of the behaviour of the mining capitalists. In doing that they will not only look to the past, but point to the present paradox - which Lipton squarely faces - of some mining magnates who are among the most "liberal" voices in the white community presiding over an industry which inflicts some of the worst conditions on black labour, including the migratory system. Lipton's explanations for this include the cost of change, inertia, lack of skills among the blacks, resistance from the mining bureaucracy, and opposition from the government. The Marxists' response might be that these are the outward signs of the capitalists' interests at work.

Those who give primacy to race could point out that the period covered in Lipton's work (1910 - 1984) was one of white political domination in which the whites (whether they were capitalists or workers, Afrikaner nationalists or "liberal" English speakers) could afford to dispute among themselves about control of the state because neither their control of power nor their personal security was at stake. Now that has changed - white dominance is under threat and personal security is an issue for all South Africans - and in that situation political behaviour will change. Lipton recognizes that, noting that "even progressive capital shared the belief that white hegemony was necessary for political stability, the precondition for both economic growth and personal security" and later she acknowledges that behaviour changes with insecurity. If the pattern of Rhodesia is to be followed most of the whites will rally together in defence of their privileges.

As the scholarly battles continue the sound of a new heavy artillery - Lipton's work on capitalism and apartheid - will increasingly be heard. In writing about South Africa there is always controversy and this book will attract its fair share, but Lipton has made a major contribution to our understanding of that troubled society.

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Lenin in the round

Lenin, a Political Life
volume one: The Strengths of Contradiction
by Robert Service
Macmillan, £25.00
ISBN 0 333 29390 8

There are many who, for the most diverse reasons, have felt moved to pronounce on Lenin's significance for his time and ours. There are far fewer who do so from the basis of a comprehensive knowledge of his writings and the contexts in which they were penned. Robert Service undoubtedly knows his Lenin and this, the first volume of an ambitious trilogy, is the product of years of reading and reflection.

Service has given us a sage, balanced and judicious introduction to Lenin's life and work up to 1920 that valiantly attempts to present Lenin in the round. Its aim is to present a "comprehensive examination" to "disclose the complex interplay of ideas, activity and environment" that only a "synoptic depiction" of Lenin can attain. Even more ambitiously it avowedly sets out to answer the questions which historians, economists, sociologists and political theorists ask about his life and work. "These are the issues," he writes, "against which we are invited to measure

the substance of the trilogy as a whole and more particularly this its first volume.

For the historian there is a wealth of factual detail and contextual settings that admirably reconstruct the complex milieu in which Lenin and his associates lived and worked both in Russia and in exile. A good deal of this material, on the nature of the autocracy and the economic and social developments in late 19th century Russia that were undermining its stability, the rise of Russian Marxism and its ambiguous relationship with Narodism, is, no doubt, well enough known but it is the particular strength of Service's account unobtrusively to weave these threads into the fabric of Lenin's life. Indeed he does a good deal more, by putting together a wish for Lenin's role as we could comprehend it, and the murky and complex disputes that wracked Russian Marxism in this period. Service is at his most masterly and informative in his account of the circumstances in which Lenin was living, the controversies in which he was engaged, the fighting within his own faction and the broader Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and the organization strategies he pursued to maximize his advantage. As a political life it is impressive but the very detail which Service is obliged to reconstruct in order to render the arcane intelligible precludes him from fulfilling his wider brief. For the economist, sociologist or political theorist it must be said there is little that is not more exhaustively covered elsewhere.

The economist would no doubt want to dwell upon the particular nature of Lenin's transposition of Marx's economic categories to Russia; his analysis of the emergence of capitalism out of natural economy, the phases of its development and the characteristic features attaching to those phases. Service's coverage of this is short and unilluminating. The substantive analysis of Lenin's principal theoretical treatise of this period (*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*) is dispensed of in three pages and Service emerges too easily with his conclusion that "His [Lenin's] definitions are problematical. He was particularly vague about what he meant by Capitalism." Some (including myself) have argued that Lenin's lengthy and sophisticated account of the evolution of capitalism was his single most important contribution to Marxist theory. Sociologists would be most interested in Lenin's account of the evolution of new class patterns consequent upon economic development; how classes were formed in the narrowly economic sense, how they became conscious of themselves and mobilized, organized and enthused to pursue their objectives. Here again Lenin provided a thorough and elaborate account of the processes at work, their phases of development and organizational enforcements, and here again Service never enters into any extended treatment of Lenin's class analysis. Given that Marxism this is the largest lacuna in the book.

For political theorists Service does

have more to say. He delves into the genesis of Lenin's thought and those who had a formative influence on it. He sagely assesses the impact that *Narodichestvo* had upon him and explores in some detail his debates on matters as diverse as party organization and epistemology with those both inside and outside his own faction. He shows how the flux of events and the factional struggles within the RSDLP impacted themselves upon the formulation of Lenin's views. All this is done with erudition and sagacity. But what is omitted is any attempt to relate Lenin's politics to his economics and his sociology. The singular and problematic character of Lenin's political recommendations resides precisely there. Both the complexity and the underlying coherence of Lenin's thought are thus discounted and Service has to resort to a rather amorphous and unsatisfactory explanatory analysis in terms of which Lenin sustained his thought "only by means of logical contradictions". His mind was pulled between central command and popular initiative; between political will and economic determinism; between massive coercion and mass persuasion; between the intuitive gamble and informed calculation. These it seems are the elusive "Strengths of Contradiction."

Neil Harding

Neil Harding is reader in the department of political theory and government at University College, Swansea.

BOOKS

After surrender

Italy 1943-1945
by David W. Ellwood
Leicester University Press, £27.00
ISBN 0 7185 1196 4

In July 1943 Mussolini was sacked by his own Fascist Grand Council, and two months later a caretaker regime formally capitulated to the Allies. Italy had collapsed with a rapidity which no one had foreseen, but took rather longer to settle peace terms with Italy than it had done to fight her and a definitive treaty was not signed until February 1947. Problems abounded, and in every aspect of the Italian issue obstructions to agreement sprang up like dragon's teeth. The tale Dr Ellwood tells is a complex one, and necessarily so; for it is the very complexity of the situation which so delighted a final settlement.

Who should take the lead? Great Britain sought the status of senior partner from the outset in order to inflict a punitive peace and so take revenge for Italian misdeeds in 1935 and 1940. In her view Italy should be treated as an enemy who had surrendered unconditionally. Responding more constructively to Italy's wish to change sides, the United States insisted on treating her as a co-belligerent. The first of many tensions inherent in the situation was that Britain needed American resources to promote Italian economic recovery but did not see for the political attitude which accompanied them.

Differences about how interim power was to be exercised posed a more immediate problem. Both Britain and Russia favoured an inter-allied control council; the United States's view was that the power doing the fighting should have overseeing authority and launch authority should be exercised by the Supreme Allied Commander in the theatre, Eisenhower. Here the major issues in the global interplay between Russia and the West were the deciding factor. Britain lined up with America, and Russia was fobbed off with membership of a toothless Allied Control Commission. She retaliated by treating the West in exactly the same manner after she had rolled over the East European Nazi satellites. In this respect - and going beyond Dr Ellwood - the political arrangements made between the Allies over Italy might be held to have been rather bungled.

Dr Ellwood has many interesting things to say about the internal Italian situation, which was no more free of

rocks and shoals than the external. Eisenhower understandably wanted to hand over civil affairs as quickly as possible to expert local civilian authorities - which meant reemploying bureaucrats tainted with fascism. A practical solution to practical problems, this aroused deep internal antagonism as a powerful new force thrown up by the war demanded the eradication of all traces of fascism and championed a political revolution.

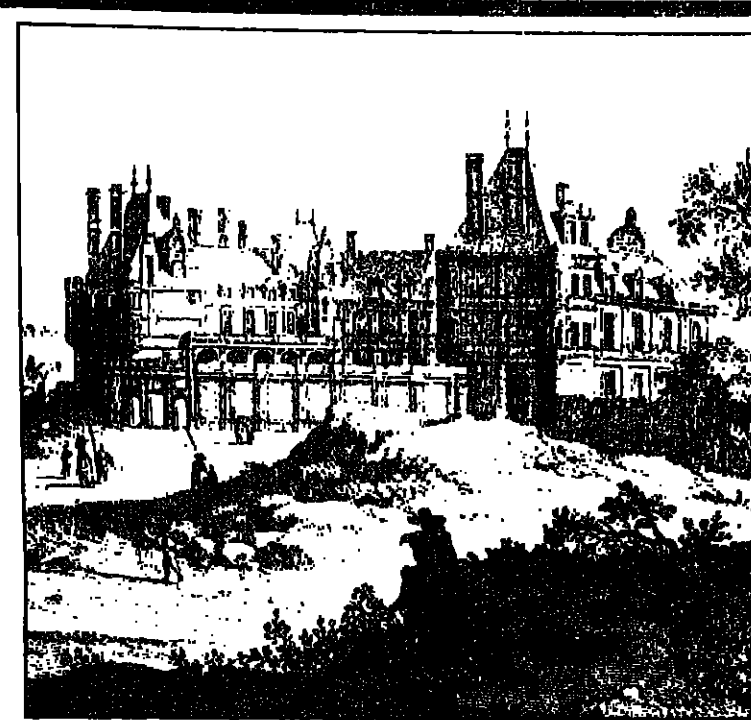
London's plans for propaganda and political warfare directed against Italy had been devised as adjuncts to a military assault which would bring about the complete overthrow of beligerent Italy. No one envisaged an Italy divided into two halves, one liberated and the other under German occupation. The German-occupied north bred the unexpected: an organized resistance, spread across the country in a network of committees of national liberation, owing allegiance to a central authority and dominated by the Communist Party. Legitimized by their struggle, they offered an alternative programme for post-war Italy which appeared threatening to the western allies and to Italian conservative politicians alike.

Left-wing Italian historians have depicted the last year of war as a time of lost opportunity when the Communists might have brought about the revolution which had been "missing" ever since unification, and left-wing Americans have suggested that the Allies did what they could to encourage the Germans to crush the resistance for them. Dr Ellwood shows convincingly how wrong both groups are. The Italian Communist Party explicitly forewore the "Greek solution" - liberation followed up with civil war - in favour of campaigning for a democratic parliamentary republic. And Alexander's famous - or infamous - message to the northern resistance in November 1944 to pack up for the winter and await an Allied push in the spring, far from being a calculated act, had implications which were not foreseen and which Alexander belatedly tried to correct. But communism became ever more threatening, and in the first years of the cold war western effort and western money sought to suppress it.

The story of the Italian surrender is a complicated one, and not for the beginner. Some of Dr Ellwood's judgements - particularly about the missing factor - seem to undercut the very complexities he so carefully enumerates. This is a rewarding book - but not an easy one. And it only covers the middle third of the story: a comprehensive study would need to survey the period from 1940 to 1947.

John Gooch

Dr Gooch is at present senior research fellow at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island.



The entrance court of the Château de Meudon at Versailles; from Royal Palaces of France by Ian Dunlop (Hamish Hamilton, £18.00).

Parallel histories

Society, Government and the Enlightenment: the experience of eighteenth-century France and Prussia
by C. B. A. Behrens
Thames & Hudson, £16.00
ISBN 0 500 25090 1

C. B. A. Behrens occupies a special place among English historians of 18th-century Europe. In her essays and reviews, and in her compact study of *The Ancien Régime* (1967) she has questioned many familiar assumptions and forced scholars to look again at some established orthodoxies.

Her latest book is similarly iconoclastic and will provoke debate and dissent. It is a work of mature reflection and considerable intellectual vigour, and it contains more food for thought than most books twice its length. Its theme is suggested by Alexis de Tocqueville's classic study of *The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution*, first published in 1856, and by his comparisons between 18th-century France and Prussia. Miss Behrens's concern is with the end of the society of orders and the contrasting transitions to 19th-century "bourgeois" society and government in the two states. In France this was brought about by the revolutionary

cataclysm after 1789, while there was less violence and greater continuity in Prussia where the change was precipitated by the shattering military defeats of 1806 at the hands of Napoleon.

This unusual perspective serves as the starting point for a parallel study of the two states in the 18th century. Comparative history of this kind can too easily seem a kind of historical Wimbledon, leaving the reader with little more than a sore neck, but here most of the pitfalls of this approach are successfully avoided. The dual perspective provides some stimulating and occasionally surprising conclusions.

Miss Behrens brings out very clearly that one particular strength of the Prussian state was its relative immunity to debt charges, in sharp contrast to the chronic indebtedness of the French government. The advantages of Prussia's system of indirect taxation are revealed by a pointed comparison with France, where direct taxes always remained important. The very different impact of the Enlightenment in each state is also made clear. In Prussia it was a mainspring of government action, while in France it became antithetical to the established order and contributed to the breakdown of the national consensus. The Prussian authorities were successful in averting the famines which devastated many 18th-century states and in avoiding serious peasant unrest, which was endemic in France particularly in the 1770s, the years of the *guerre des farines*. Miss Behrens even suggests that in purely material terms the Prussian peasants may not have been

any worse off than their French counterparts though as she admits this must be a very subjective impression.

The portrait of Frederick the Great as a reforming conservative, a mixture of the old and the new, which emerges would be accepted by most historians, and the King's central role in the government of his realms is vividly demonstrated. Not all her arguments command complete acceptance. Insufficient weight is given to the pervasive military ethos of the Hohenzollern state and of Prussian society. She also underestimates the extent of Prussia's collapse after 1806 and as a result sees too much continuity between the 18th century and its recovery after the defeats of Jena-Auerstädt.

Miss Behrens succeeds in providing a different and illuminating perspective on 18th-century Prussia, but this is not her principal aim. Her book is primarily a contribution to the debate on the origins of the French Revolution. Eighteenth-century Prussia is a vehicle for a series of pungent arguments about what is wrong with the last generation's writing on the collapse of the French regime: here some of her arguments have been anticipated by Professor William Doyle, whose *Origins of the French Revolution* (1980) adopts a broadly similar approach.

The sections on France are the most important and most controversial parts of her book. Miss Behrens reaffirms Tocqueville's classic argument that the principal solvent of the society of orders was not economic change or even the ideas of the Enlightenment but the French government and in particular the bureaucracy. She offers an unashamedly political and administrative view of the origins of the French Revolution: at one point she echoes the celebrated verdict of James Harrington in his *Oceanica* on the causes of the English Revolution of the mid-17th century, that "the dissolution of the government caused the war and not the war the dissolution of this government". And it is this emphasis which makes her book both important and timely.

Her arguments will no doubt be subjected to criticism on matters of detail: at certain points she is not fully abreast of recent writing, while the relative brevity of her text means that some of her most stimulating suggestions are not fully developed. But the main thrust is difficult to refute: that the explanation of the origins of the French Revolution must be sought in the collapse of Louis XVI's government at the end of the 1780s and not in extraneous factors such as economic trends or the position of the peasantry. Whether they agree with its conclusions or not, few readers will fail to benefit from this closely-argued, provocative and enjoyable book.

H. M. Scott

Dr Scott is lecturer in modern history at the University of St Andrews.

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Edward Arnold
11 Bedford Square, London, WC1R 3DQ

BOOKS

Doubt and loneliness

'A Real World & Doubting Mind': a critical study of the poetry of John Clare
by Tim Chilcott
Hull University Press, £13.95
ISBN 0 85958 446 1

Much of the work on John Clare's writing in the past twenty-five years has concentrated on his texts, a necessary prerequisite for critical assessment. John Taylor, publisher of Keats and Clare and the subject of an earlier book by Tim Chilcott, edited out or refined what he regarded as Clare's roughnesses and idiosyncrasies, and the practice was prolonged well into this century. But now that we have a substantial body of texts which do not "improve" or disguise Clare, it is timely to have a critical work which surveys the whole range of the poetry. Tim Chilcott's interest in language rather than in biography or society, and his main argument is summed up by the title quotation from *The Shepherd's Calendar* of 1827, "A real world & doubting mind". These two, Chilcott argues, are the poles between which Clare's poetry functions. In Clare's early poetry his response is a complete trust in the world, which he represents in a poetry which does not organize reality but presents it as an accessible whole.

To name something is to know it in its fullness; and if the association between the objects of perception is not especially emphasized, it is because the impulse behind such language does not basically seek to shape or organize reality. It does not, so to speak, impose a syntax upon experience. Chilcott sees the self, even as late as *The Shepherd's Calendar*, as remaining "dispassionate, as it watches the objects of nature fulfilling their function in a pure presence." This "real world" and its security grow less credible, more elusive, as Clare begins to question time, place, identity, even the language which has structured his world. The "doubting mind" begins to dominate, the world and the word begins to dissociate, and the result is a

poetry of shifting uncertainty and loneliness. With the poems of 1832, a new imaginative direction is defined, where "the vacancies that exist between objects, the dissolution of a thing-centred universe, move towards the focus of attention. The inductive mood of affirmation ('This is how it is here') is broken down into more subjective moods ('That is how it seemed once to have been there').

Later the poetry moves further away from certainty about the world, increasing its interest in its own activity and the process of apprehending. The grounds of knowledge are "deeply eroded" and Clare moves "into the shifting dispositions of the self". To illustrate the movement in perception from one extreme to the other and to indicate the type of linguistic change which accompanies that movement, Chilcott offers some variations that Clare might have played at different periods on a simple sentence:

These trees are on this bank.
I see the trees that are on this bank.
I seem to see those trees and banks.
It seems that there are shapes like trees and banks.

My mind is seeming forms like trees and banks.

Chilcott is aware of the risk of this seeming too schematic, but usefully takes the risk. Similarly, when he seems to suggest a chronological development as I have done, he repeatedly circles back to remind the reader of anomalies and complexities, and points to periods, even individual poems, where the different modes of perception are in tension. Perhaps the greatest achievement, he argues, is in travelling the "large imaginative and cultural space" between the real world and doubting mind.

When one disagrees, as I do about his view of "The Badger" for example, it is a productive disagreement and Chilcott always provides the evidence for the argument. He delights in examples, in language, in statistical evidence of usage, construction or grammatical habit; and he moves with ease between generalizing comment and illustrative detail. This is an enjoyable and illuminating book, opening out discussion and nagging readers into thought. Future critics will not always agree with him, but they will value him.

R. K. R. Thornton

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Against ideology

William Blake
by Edward Larrissy
Blackwell, £12.50 and £3.95
ISBN 0 631 13485 9 and 13504 9
The Social Vision of William Blake
by Michael Ferber
Princeton University Press, £24.60
ISBN 0 691 08382 7

"The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living" - so Marx describes the power of ideology in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. These two books are concerned with that nightmare in the poems of William Blake. No poet in English literature has seen the depth and complexity of ideology as clearly as Blake, and no poet has seen the extent to which it permeates every aspect of the lives of children, women, and men. No poet has so completely submerged his poetic voice into ideology's public languages, and no poet has fought against every manifestation of its oppressive power with such relentless vision.

The problems posed by this, however, are acute. Is Blake's text "within" or "outside" the dominant ideology of his time, or both? How do Blake's Christianity and his treatment of sexual difference square with his radical vision? Is his poetic stance a kind of "deconstruction", similar in fact to that of Derrida, or is it fundamentally different in kind? Edward Larrissy's *William Blake in Terry Eagleton's "Rereading Literature"* series explores these issues in terms of the problem of form. His overall thesis is that Blake was critically aware of the ideological boundaries of his own forms and the severe limits of his own language and that this gives his work the power of what Eagleton in his preface calls "revolutionary ambiguity".

In presenting this general argument Larrissy uses deconstructive strategies to show how individual poems work within and against "ideological" constraints. He defines well the "limitations" of vision in the *Songs of Innocence* in terms of Derrida's "frames", the "limiting and fixing which occurs in all interpretation" to which, thus, paradoxically, reveals "the impossibility of a final interpretation". With Derrida also clearly in mind he analyzes

the acute ambiguities of the "bounded" empiricist and rationalist discourse of *There is No Natural Religion*, and reassesses briefly but significantly Blake's complex reaction to the unknowable "One" of neoplatonic philosophy. He then considers the creation myth in *The Book of Urizen* emphasizing the deeply ambiguous relationship between the "bounded" Urizen and Orc and the "binder" Los, and making the important general point that the formal structure of these works is often disturbed by a "usurpation" of powers between figures initially presented in terms of fundamental oppositions.

This approach to the problem of form in Blake is very valuable, but it is disappointingly limited. The book focuses far too much on the earlier poetry from *The Songs of Innocence* to *The Book of Urizen*. By dealing only briefly with *Milton*, *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem*, Larrissy has failed to concentrate on what is arguably the most important area for a radical re-reading of Blake, in the poet's most daring use of language and unprecedented use of form. Furthermore, what could have

been a real engagement between Blake and Barthes, Kristeva and Derrida, is set out only sketchily, very puzzling issues like the relationship between the "hymen" in Derrida and the "veil" in Blake, and crucial questions like how far Blake's formal structures allow for the possibility of "dissemination" are touched upon but not fully developed. Larrissy seems to suggest that in the end Blake is not a deconstructionist, but we are not shown why this is so and whether this is a good thing or not.

The poststructuralist strategies which Larrissy attempts to exploit are flatly rejected by Michael Ferber in *The Social Vision of William Blake*. He focuses instead on Blake's radical social ideas seen in the context of the philosophical, religious, and political debates of the time. He offers no sustained analysis of any single poem, but instead shapes his argument around a series of themes such as "brotherhood", "liberty" and "labour".

His book is thorough, wide-ranging, and constantly illuminating. Although he covers well-known topics Ferber's interest in political and social issues reveals them in a new light. He reassesses Blake's struggle with Locke, for example, in terms of Blake's conviction that man has an "inborn intellectual and spiritual power". He shows that Blake was unusual in emphasizing "fraternity" in the radical circles which normally emphasized "liberty" and "equality". He offers a very illuminating study of Blake's poetic use of *Apocalypse* in the later works, the restoration of all things to themselves as an alternative to Last Judgement. And in the best chapter he presents a highly imaginative account of labour throughout Blake's work, contrasting Albion's sterile "building" with Los's creative "labouring".

Ferber is at his best when elucidating these positive strengths in Blake's radical vision. But the book as a whole is weak in that it approaches the problem of ideology in Blake purely in terms of ideas: although there are some very suggestive remarks on several passages from *Jerusalem* the book cries out for detailed analysis of the poetic texts themselves. In addition the lack of reference to contemporary critical theory is a limitation: whatever one thinks of Foucault or Derrida it is now inadequate to consider Blake's views on "Nature and the Female" or "Time, Eternity, and History" without some reference to their work.

It is odd, finally, that neither of these books, though they are avowedly "Marxist" in orientation, make much detailed reference to Marx or to specifically Marxist attempts to deal with the problem of aesthetic form, as in Frederick Jameson's *Marxism and Form* and *The Political Unconscious*. All the same it is the merit of these books that they have been able to raise such fundamental questions about the true nature of Blake's radical vision.

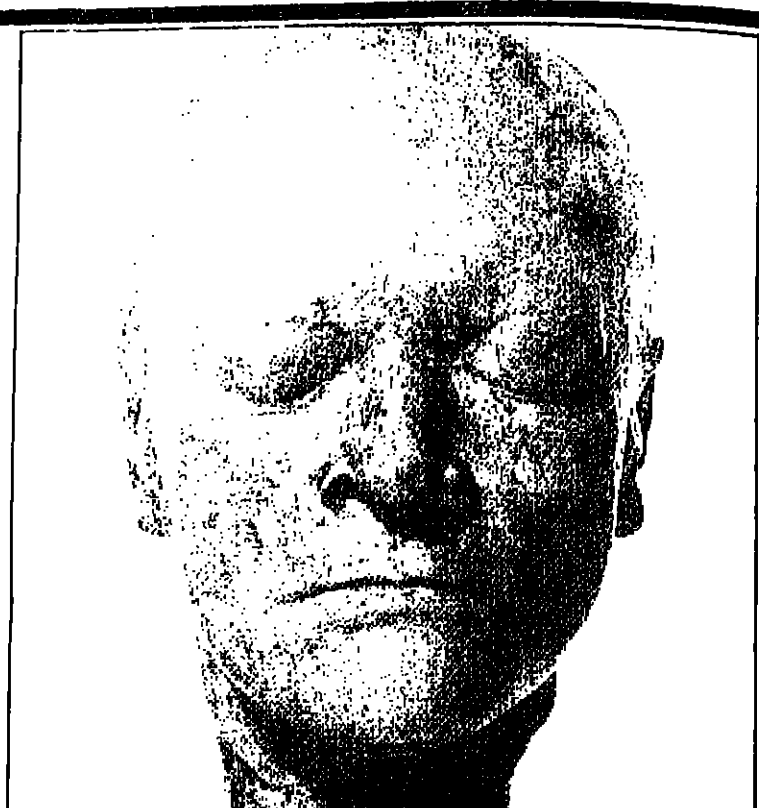
But so far as our views of the 17th century are concerned, I suspect that the thesis is too venerable to be controversial. The classic answer to the question I raised at the beginning is the one formulated by T. S. Eliot, the associated sensibility, that fusion of thought and feeling which disappeared from England one January morning in 1649.

Gerald Hammond

Dr Hammond is senior lecturer in English at the University of Manchester.

Frank Stack

Frank Stack is lecturer in English at the University of Southampton.



Blake's life-mask, taken by J. S. Deville in 1823

BOOKS

Return of Halley's comet

Halley's Comet in History
by Hermann Hunger, F. Richard Stephenson, Christopher D. F. Walker and Kevin K. C. Yau
British Museum Publications, £5.50
ISBN 0 7141 1118 X
Halley and His Comet
by Peter Lancaster-Brown
Blandford, £9.95
ISBN 0 7137 1447 6
The Official Halley's Comet Book
by Brian Harpur
Hodder & Stoughton, £8.95
ISBN 0 340 36511 0
A Comet Called Halley
by Ian Ridpath and Terence Murtagh
Cambridge University Press, £2.95
ISBN 0 521 31282 5
The Arrival of Halley's Comet, 1985/86
by Paul B. Doherty
Aurum Press, £4.95
ISBN 0 9481 49 09 4
How to See Halley's Comet
by Michael Hendrie
Times Books, £1.60
ISBN 0 7230 0273 8

Eight comets have been observed and named every decade or so for the past three millennia, often being treated as portents of disaster. More recently, comets have been recognized as potential "time-capsules", remaining relatively unchanged since the creation of the Solar System, limiting the choice of target to one with an accurately predictable orbit. Halley's comet alone among known comets has a well-observed orbit and also exhibits considerable activity. Since its period of 74 to 79 years coincides with the

human lifespan, most people have an opportunity of seeing the comet only once. It is regarded as a familiar object among the apparent confusion of the universe, and a link with past events which coincided with its appearance.

Even with today's powerful computers, it is still a difficult task to predict the position of a comet a long way into the past or future. This is particularly so when a close approach to a planet occurs, as for Halley's comet in 1937, since the time and distance of approach critically affect the resultant orbit. For this reason, historical observations of Halley's comet can be used to refine the calculated positions. The problem is one of identifying and translating the fragmentary sources of information, and distinguishing observations of Halley's comet from those of other, possibly brighter, comets.

Comets become visible from the Earth for only a few weeks or months before receding once again from the inner Solar System. Occasionally, one may pass near one of the planets and be perturbed into a new orbit of short period (less than 200 years). As material is gradually lost from a comet, during successive approaches to the Sun, it is not expected to last more than a few thousand orbits. Over a hundred such short-period comets are known, but all, except Halley, are faint and usually visible only using large telescopes.

From his studies of cometary orbits using Isaac Newton's newly developed gravitational theory, Edmond Halley noticed the similarity between those of the 1531, 1607 and 1682 comets and predicted a return in 1758. Its arrival on Christmas Day 1758 finally showed that comets were subject to the same physical laws as other members of the Solar System.

The coming of the space age has provided an opportunity to study a comet from close quarters, with five space probes planned to arrive at the comet in March 1986, soon after its last passage around the Sun. Detailed long-term planning is required for such large-scale projects, limiting the choice of target to one with an accurately predictable orbit. Halley's comet alone among known comets has a well-observed orbit and also exhibits considerable activity. Since its period of 74 to 79 years coincides with the

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Halley's Comet in History has been written to accompany a British Museum exhibition illustrating the history of scientific observation of Halley's comet up to the time of Halley himself. This short book concentrates on the Babylonian and Chinese records which were scientifically superior to those made in Europe before the 15th century. After a brief introduction, almost half the book is taken up with a description and translations of Babylonian cuneiform tablets, recently discovered in the museum's collection, containing astronomical observations and including apparitions of Halley's comet in 164 ac and 87 ac. For those who are not scholars of the subject, the translations will make rather dull reading but the accompanying text provides an interesting and informative explanation of the background to the tablets and explains the symbols and units used. The remainder of the book describes the observations made at each apparition up to 1682, with special emphasis on the early Chinese sightings which allow us to trace back the motion of the comet to at least 240 ac.

For someone who has previously found staring at squiggly lines on stones in dusty museums rather uninspiring, this book was a pleasant surprise. It admirably demonstrates the way in which a few, often imprecise but well-dated, observations can constrain modern orbital computations. My only criticism is of the rather unbalanced content: the formal translations of the Babylonian tablets seem out of place among the more descriptive sections. Either they should have been omitted (except for a representative sample of observations), which would have left a rather lightweight guide, quite acceptable to the casual visitor; or more details could have been given of the Chinese sightings to provide a complete record of earlier observations.

In 1682, Halley himself observed the comet that was later to bear his name and for which he would be most remembered. Halley was much more than a brilliant astronomer and mathematician. He worked for and was an active member of the Royal Society, conducted research into chronology, Earth sciences, navigation and other nautical matters, made several scientific voyages, and mixed with the leading scientists and socialites of his day, before receiving a chair at Oxford and the post of Astronomer Royal. His personal qualities endeared him to almost everyone he met, and his friendship with Newton and constant encouragement led to the publication of *Principia* and Halley's own work on the motions of comets. Surprisingly few details of his private life remain and biographers have had to rely on rumours and secondhand reports from his contemporaries.

In *Halley and His Comet*, Peter Lancaster-Brown has written a lively and detailed account of Halley's life and work, highlighting his relationship with Newton and other contemporaries. He then traces the development of cometary science through the apparitions of 1835 and 1910 to the present day, with constant reference to the scientists involved and the public's reaction to appearances of bright comets. He parallels the advances made in orbital calculations and predictions with the identification of previous apparitions of Halley's comet from historical records. The book concludes with a balanced summary of the contemporary theory of the relation between comets and the origin of life presented by Fred Hoyle and N. C. Wickramasinghe, a look forward to the forthcoming spacecraft encounters, and a bibliography of historical and scientific papers.

Presented in a non-technical manner, the book avoids the trap of

over-simplification of the more complex problems in cometary science and should appeal to the scientist and layman alike. This is far from a "handwaggon" publication and should prove of interest long after the comet has receded from view.

The Official Halley's Comet Book claims to be the "most comprehensive and authoritative guide to Halley's comet specifically designed for the layman". It is only "official", however, in that it is endorsed by an informal society founded by the author and other comet enthusiasts in 1975 to promote interest in the approaching apparition. The book is a curious mixture of facts and figures, bizarre stories and myths, and some useful hints for observing comets. One chapter is a list of historical events occurring around each recorded apparition to show "... how the world changes every seventy-five to seventy-nine years." Another contains comet poetry (most of it exhorting); and a third quotes examples of the strange and sometimes disturbing events purportedly due to the 1910 appearance. Among these items are a biography of Halley, a description of comets, planned observations in 1985/86 and the spacecraft encounters. These latter groups contain some curious errors.

For example, Harpur reports studies, by a group of five British astronomers headed by John Green, of the dust particles around the comet, made in June 1984, from Tenerife. Not only was the comet behind the Sun at this time, it was far too faint to be picked up by that telescope. The first infrared dust measurements were in fact made from Hawaii by myself and three associates in December 1984. The guide to viewing the comet is somewhat spoilt by the lack of star charts showing its changing position. The horizon maps show roughly in which direction to look on given dates but provide no points of reference on the sky for location when using binoculars. However, the author's enthusiasm for comets and Halley memorabilia is apparent from the many amusing and entertaining anecdotes, and the book is almost worth buying for these alone.

Records of visual sightings have

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ECONOMICS

Starting small

Communism and Development
by Robert Bideleux
Methuen, £25.00
ISBN 0 416 73410 3

Much of the debate about forms of society has taken for granted that industrialization - by which is usually meant large-scale, urban-based industrialization - is desirable, and has therefore concentrated on analysing alternative means of bringing it about. This focus was apparent, for instance, in the famous industrialization debate carried on in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, prior to the first five-year plan. The various protagonists took differing views about the most appropriate rate of growth, about the likely sources of finance for investment, the sectoral balance of growth (essentially, heavy industry versus current consumption), and the extent to which the desired development could be achieved through market means, perhaps guided by some form of indicative plan, rather than through centralized planning. As we know, rapid growth, heavy industry and forced collectivization of agriculture won the day, with results that have shaped economic development in the Soviet Union, and in the many countries that have subsequently sought to emulate her approach to rapid development, right up to the present.

Bideleux enters this debate by arguing that this established socialist development strategy is inappropriate for many countries. Instead of the emphasis on heavy industry, he would like to see some form of village-based communism, particularly in those countries where the peasantry are overwhelmingly the largest group of the population. In some ways this seems rather a romantic idea, since it conjures up the notion of virtually self-sufficient village communities producing according to their traditional practices and impervious to the changing world around them. But that is not quite what Bideleux has in mind. First, it would be wrong to claim that village communities are necessarily static and unchanging. In evidence, Bideleux cites the case of pre-revolutionary Russia and argues that, contrary to the views of many Marxists (including Lenin), the peasants were actually doing well before 1914, gradually raising their living standards and introducing new methods of production; it was only the political and social crisis brought about by the First World War that interrupted this process.

Second, socialist industrialization has typically been highly centralized and hence undemocratic, whereas village-based communism could well be extremely democratic since the local people would make their own production and consumption decisions in the light of resources and preferences. Of course, in doing so, they would be constrained by market relationships with the rest of the country, but they would still be able to choose how to participate in these relationships. At the same time, it would be perfectly compatible with this story for the government to provide information, advice and perhaps even credit to support innovation and change. Where the story is not so clear is in the role it assigns to large-scale industry. Bideleux appears to be against it because it is undemocratic and costly, but in a modern, technically sophisticated society some such industry is surely essential. In that case, how is it to be organized and planned, and how would it relate to the village communities? We are not offered an answer to this question.

Besides setting out his argument in general terms, and providing an interesting and thorough review of the Soviet industrialization debate, Bideleux illustrates his case by sketching the experience of several other countries in the socialist world. Thus he paints a bleak picture of Chinese economic performance (presumably before the most recent reforms introducing the so-called responsibility system into agriculture), pointing out that per capita food availability scarcely increased at all from 1950 to the mid-1970s. This failure is attributed to a Stalinist over-emphasis on heavy industry, with light industry and agriculture receiving very small shares of the available investment resources. Similar strictures are directed against Cuba, once among the better off Latin American countries but now slipping further behind several of the others. Yugoslavia and Hungary receive more favourable attention, though in both cases successful agricultural organization and performance is offset by problems of bureaucracy and rigidity elsewhere. Nevertheless, both are regarded as important steps in the right direction.

Overall, the author is evidently opposed to large-scale, hierarchical forms of production; however, he is more tolerant towards rural collectivization provided that it is carried out in the brutal manner that has sometimes been employed. Bideleux has produced a book which deserves to be widely read by anyone with an interest in comparative economics. Although at the end it was still inclined to find his argument tending towards the romantic (despite claims to the contrary), it is refreshing to read someone who approaches his topic from a standpoint so different from what has become the conventional wisdom.

Paul Hare

Paul Hare is professor of economics at Heriot-Watt University.



A collective farm at Yegor'evsk, near Moscow, in 1922.

Costs and benefits

The Economic Ideal in British Government: calculating costs and benefits in the 1970s
by Phyllis Colvin
Manchester University Press, £22.50
ISBN 0 7190 1744 0

Frequently there are no market prices available with which to evaluate the products or the inputs of a proposed public project. Even for an item which has a market price, the public authority must inquire whether the market price needs some adjustment in order to obtain a value which properly reflects its social cost or social benefit. This some means have to be found of evaluating social cost and benefit. The method which has increasingly been used for these purposes over the last few decades is commonly known as social cost-benefit analysis.

Mrs Colvin has serious reservations about this method. She begins by critically reviewing its methodology and presuppositions; she then traces the history of how economists in general and cost-benefit analysts in particular came to penetrate the policy-making centres of British government; and finally she provides three detailed case studies of the use of cost-benefit analysis in three important areas. The author spends some time evaluating the relation between cost-benefit analysis and economic theory; this part of the book is a bit obscure, at least in places. In her general methodological critique, she at

once says too much as well as too little. For example, she does not emphasize how in most such studies, in practice, the costs and benefits are evaluated with reference to the existing distribution of incomes and wealth. Benefits are ultimately valued in terms of how much a consumer is willing to pay for them. (There is a symmetric procedure regarding costs.) But how much one is willing to pay for a thing does crucially depend on how much income and wealth one has. Economists do not know how to correct this bias in social valuation without somebody making interpersonal judgements of welfare. Yet such interpersonal judgements seem unwelcome to Mrs Colvin.

On the other hand, the author has some methodological strictures to offer because economists try to evaluate both the costs and the benefits of a proposed project. It is not clear what exactly the author has in mind here. She is perhaps arguing that economists should confine themselves to studies of cost-effectiveness, where the policy-maker specifies the objectives which a project must meet, and the economists then try to find the least cost method of achieving those set objectives. Economists would presumably want to argue that it is not often that the objectives have been so clearly specified by the policy-makers. One fears that at least some economists might also want to argue that policy-makers are not any better qualified (perhaps less qualified) to evaluate objectives. It is for this latter kind of attitude that Mrs Colvin's methodical research case studies would be a most welcome and humbling corrective. Especially, her scrutiny of the cost-benefit analysis of the at-one-time proposed national programme of pre-natal screening for neural tube defects (spina bifida) should be salutary reading for any economists drunk on a notion of the

pure "rationality" of such analyses. She shows how economists rushed in where angels fear to tread, making illud assumptions - such as that the ethics of abortion, if a pre-natal test proved positive, could be ignored.

Clearly there are areas of public policy (arguably, most of the questions concerning health, life and death fall into this category) where economists' assistance needs to be limited to assessing the comparative costs of alternative means of meeting given objectives - objectives which have been chosen on much broader criteria than just the economic. But there are other areas, such as perhaps road transport and training programmes (the subjects of the other two case studies in the book), where economists would want to argue that they can legitimately do a comparative analysis of not only the costs but also the benefits of alternative projects. Indeed, Mrs Colvin's criticisms of these two case studies seem to be not so much of their principle as of their details in practice. These case studies strongly buttress Mrs Colvin's main argument that the biggest drawback of cost-benefit analysis is that provided its practitioners come out with some numbers, the economists' "rational" imperative is satisfied, and most of the audience are impressed. It is not how question-begging might have been some of the underlying assumptions and empirical parameters. Yet it is difficult to devise an alternative to cost-benefit (or, at least, cost-effectiveness) studies. The book provides both economists and administrators with a great deal of food for thought.

S. K. Nath

Dr Nath is senior lecturer in economics at the University of Warwick.

Controlling the flow of money

Money, Inflation and Unemployment: the role of money in the economy
by David Gowland
Wheatshaf, £18.95 and £8.95
ISBN 0 7108 0762 7 and 07570

Designed, as the cover claims, as an easy-to-read introduction to monetary theory, this book certainly fulfils that role, and much else. The excellent survey of the theoretical literature is matched, at various points, with lucid analysis of the present-day conduct of monetary policy, especially that of the Thatcher administration. A wide readership, from the earnest student to the interested layman, is thus catered for.

On the theoretical front, the text ranges over a wide range of subject matter. The reader is expertly guided through Friedman's reformulation of the simple quantity theory of money and the recent switch in emphasis to stock adjustment models incorporated within the portfolio approach to monetary theory. The survey of the demand-for-money literature takes in the neoclassical approach of Friedman and Laidler, the inventory theoretic approach of Tobin and Baumol, the "motives" approach of Keynes and the latest "buffer-stock" approach, and precedes the introduction of the famous Hicksian IS/LM paradigm. A simplified version of this model is used to highlight the major controversies arising in the Keynesian versus monetarist debate. The contributions made by Tobin in his general equilibrium model are then assessed, as is the power of the flow of funds approach to illuminate the relationships between money stock growth, fiscal policy (in the guise of the public sector borrowing requirement), changes in bank lending, the Government's policy on debt sales and overseas developments.

At this point in the text, emphasis switches to discussion of the implementation of policy within a framework of goals for inflation and employment. The departure from the mainstream view that balanced relations can reduce unemployment is first discussed in the light of the work of Clower and Leijonhufvud, who both emphasized the ramifications of the instability inherent within monetary policy, but finally embraces the work of Friedman and his apostles. As the section on the "Economics of Thatcherism" vividly demonstrates, the present Government has taken the debate one step further by maintaining not just that deflation is neutral in the long term as far as its impact on employment is concerned, but also that the Friedman/Phillips vertical long-run Phillips curve), but rather that it is positively counterproductive in the sense that both inflation and unemployment will result in the long term from policies designed to reflete the economy. The influence of expectations, especially for inflation, is assessed at this juncture, as is the role played by wealth effects in influencing both model builders and policy-makers alike. The significance of the apparent positive correlation between the savings ratio and inflation for policy-making in the UK is also indicated, providing, as it does, some justification for a short-term reduction in aggregate demand with a view to securing a long-term fall in unemployment.

The final sections of the book embrace theoretical and policy-oriented topics, such as the term structure of interest rates, debt management, the role played by banks in the determination of the money stock, and the pros and cons of monetary targets (the relative merits of interest rate and exchange rate targets are also briefly touched upon). In summary, the book represents a highly successful attempt to open up the quagmire of theoretical debate on monetary policy to a non-specialist readership, and adequate references are provided to guide the reader into muddier waters if that is what is sought.

M. J. B. Hall

Dr Hall is lecturer in economics at Loughborough University.

BOOKS

ECONOMICS

Thirties fiscal policy

Towards the Managed Economy: Keynes, the Treasury and the fiscal policy debate of the 1930s
by Roger Middleton
Methuen, £25.00
ISBN 0 416 35830 6

It is a widely held belief that the adoption of Keynesian policy measures during the 1930s could have resolved satisfactorily the inter-war unemployment problem. *Towards the Managed Economy* reappraises British fiscal policy during this period. A detailed analysis of the budget accounts and budgetary policy for 1929-39 is provided as background for the discussion of the Treasury view on public works and the extent to which Keynesian proposals for the removal of mass unemployment were accepted by official thinking during the 1930s.

Middleton provides a detailed specification of the Treasury view to show that its theoretical basis has been interpreted wrongly in the past. One commonly held opinion is that the Treasury adopted a classical economic position which assumed full employment and a fixed fund of savings. Relying on the 1929 memorandum prepared by the Treasury, Middleton convincingly demonstrates that the Treasury did not implicitly assume full

employment. To explore the precise relationship between the Treasury view, the standard Keynesian models and modern monetarist models Middleton uses a comparative static IS-LM approach in order to analyse the effects of an increase in public works on employment.

A view attributed to the Treasury is that the resulting increase in government expenditure would have little effect on total employment because the borrowing required to finance the deficit would crowd-out private sector investment. Middleton's analysis of crowding-out or the neutralizing of financial operations within the IS-LM framework shows that its approach was much more complex. The IS and LM curves implicit in the Treasury literature are shown to be interest responsive. Consequently the IS curve reflects monetarist assumptions and the LM curve reflects Keynesian assumptions. In contrast to the new monetarist position, crowding-out is therefore not due to factors such as the interest inelasticity of the demand for money. Indeed Middleton's analysis shows that the Treasury view cannot provide a legitimate antecedent for the modern monetarist position. On the major issue of crowding-out Middleton argues that the Treasury view based on adverse confidence effects was closer to the Keynesian position.

The rejection of the public works programme outlined by the Liberal Party in 1929 traditionally has been explained in terms of the stultifying influence of the Treasury view. In a detailed analysis of the policy debate, Middleton shows that the Whitehall view contained in the 1929 memorandum did not object to public works as such but was justifiably critical of the technical and administrative deficiencies of the Liberal programme. The opinion of the Ministry of Labour, in its contribution to the memorandum, that a centrally directed public works programme could not have provided a permanent stimulus to unemployment given the characteristics of inter-war

unemployment is also supported by Middleton's analysis.

The book does not contain a comprehensive new classical macroeconomic analysis of the inter-war period but there is a brief discussion of some possible implications if expectations are formed rationally. Middleton recognizes that if Keynesian stabilization policies were successful until the late 1960s the rational expectations school would say that there is no guarantee that this policy could have been applied successfully in inter-war Britain given the pre-Keynesian expectations of economic agents.

A very valuable contribution of this book is that for the first time an attempt has been made to broaden the debate as to why there was very little common ground between the Keynesian and Treasury views throughout the 1930s. Middleton has shown conclusively that the theoretical issues have been overemphasized in the past and insufficient attention has been given to the integration of theoretical, political and bureaucratic factors. This book will be of interest not only to those concerned with the inter-war period but also to those dealing with our current unemployment crisis as numerous parallels are drawn between the questions faced by economists and policy makers in the 1930s and 1980s.

J. F. Bradley

J. F. Bradley is senior lecturer in economics at Queen's University, Belfast.

Central ideas

A History of Modern Economic Analysis
by Roger Backhouse
Blackwell, £29.50
ISBN 0 631 14314 9

George Bernard Shaw once apologized to a correspondent for writing a long letter: "I did not have the time to write a shorter one". It is easy to be prolix. The epigram is a laudatory one. Roger Backhouse may be forgiven for the length of this volume, however. Its subject-matter is nothing less than the history of economic ideas from Adam Smith to the present. It is no mean task to encompass such a vast span of literature between two covers.

The book is divided into four unequal parts. The first two, with 60-odd pages apiece, concentrate on the 1870 period, and the 1870s and 1880s respectively. Parts three and four are each 140 pages long. They take us from 1890 to the present, with the break coming in 1939. Early chapters are devoted in the main to particular authors, later ones to topics usually subdivided by author. The chronological approach favoured by Backhouse is compartmentalized by generation. The continuities and discontinuities in the evolution of ideas could have been depicted more colourfully and effectively had the whole book been divided throughout the topic (utility and demand, the firm, welfare, trade, money, cycles, growth and so on).

The confines of space dictate that nothing can be explored in substantial depth, and that many topics receive the shortest of attention. The aim of the book is to provide an introduction to the central ideas. Yet, even granted this, there are some puzzling omissions. Harold Hotelling, one of the giants of economic theory between the wars, gains no mention, while Joan Robinson gets 1,600 words on imperfect competition. It would have been nice to see something on Ricardo's equivalence proposition on debt and taxes, and the recent debate on this. There is nothing on principal-agent theory, one of the major developments in recent post-war economics, while J. K. Galbraith earns an over-lavish entry of some 400 words.

Backhouse misses a powerful trick by failing to mention the non-substitu-

tion theorem, which would have provided a splendid way of demarcating neoclassical from classical price theory. Gary S. Becker gets three sentences for his theory of the allocation of time, and nothing on the human capital approach to education (or the screening rival to it). Some important subjects receive little more than a few sentences (games theory, fix-price models and rational expectations, for example); they are just headlines, from which the reader can perceive only the dimmest outline of the essential ideas. In the treatment of recent work in development economics I was surprised to see so much on dependency theories and nothing on Harris-Tudaro on migration, Iliss-Stern on Palampur, Newbery-Stiglitz on commodity price stabilization, or Little-Mirrlees on project evaluation.

The book suffers from a number of infelicities. Friedman's demand for money function (page 343) omits a crucial permanent income term. The otherwise attractive section on asymmetric information presents George A. Akerlof as saying that the price of second-hand cars will be zero (rather than equal to the price of bad second-hand cars, under certain conditions). The asymmetric-information twist to implicit contract theory is hinted at as a way of obtaining both sticky wages and unemployment, which it cannot be.

Yet despite all this, the book has important merits. It is all too easy for the student of economics to concentrate exclusively on contemporary writing in economics, and to ignore the elegant, incisive if often informal treatments by the best authors of the past. Earlier literature is usually directly accessible to beginners; it is often enlightening in its own right; and it helps to show how ideas evolve, and how progress in economic analysis can be made. Backhouse's book will help to redress the balance. It will disabuse undergraduates of silly notions such as "Macroeconomics starts with Keynes' *General Theory*". It will introduce them to a host of 19th and early 20th-century writers whose works are unduly neglected in all but specialist courses devoted to the history of economic thought. But it will do no more than introduce them; they will have to go back to the originals, for both earlier and contemporary economists alike, to gain a solid grasp of the subject-matter.

P. J. N. Sinclair

P. J. N. Sinclair is fellow and tutor in economics at Brunel College, Oxford.

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BOOKS

ECONOMICS

Bugs in the big apple

Productivity Growth and US Competitiveness
edited by William J. Baumol and Kenneth McLellan
Oxford University Press, £19.50
ISBN 0 19 503267 7

Since the late 1960s the United States economy has experienced a pervasive and substantial decline in productivity growth. This retardation, more severe than that undergone by America's major international economic rivals (including the United Kingdom) was so disturbing to the trustees of the Committee for Economic Development (CED) - an independent research and educational organization whose objective is "to promote stable growth with rising living standards and increasing opportunities for all" - that they prepared a policy statement, published in 1983, entitled *Productivity Policy: key to the nation's economic future*.

Early drafts of the chapters in Baumol and McLellan's *Productivity Growth and US Competitiveness* constituted either specially commissioned background papers for the authors of the CED report or, in the case of two notable pieces based on the unpublished research of the chief of the Center for Economic Studies in the US Bureau of the Census, J. R. Norsworthy, were specifically prepared to advise the trustees. These papers have now been made more widely available in the correct belief that not to have done so would have represented a loss

to economists and others concerned with the question of productivity and international competitiveness. Such is the clarity of the editors' introduction that it could be argued that those who would otherwise have suffered the greatest deprivation would have been university students of economics and economic history. The former will be indebted to Baumol and McLellan for the comprehensibility of their discussion of the nature, causes and significance of productivity trends in productivity in perspective and for outlining and partially explaining differences in international trends. Strengthened by this increase in their understanding, students will more confidently embark upon the more difficult survey by E. N. Wolff of recent studies on the magnitude of and reasons for the slump in productivity in nearly all sectors of the American economy over the past 15 years. There follow the major conclusions of a comparative study of productivity growth in the USA and Japan; a stimulating, if idiosyncratic, explanation of Japan's recent superiority; two chapters which address the question of linkages between labour policy, industrial relations and productivity at the plant and company level; and a convincing argument by Frank Gollop that any policy which seeks to stimulate America's productivity should be applied broadly across the economy. "Policy should be sector-neutral, not sector-biased", Gollop maintains, "to impose constraints on the ability of the market to allocate resources to their most productive use is both misguided and potentially damaging. Although the editors draw upon the foregoing papers to formulate a programme designed to effect a sustained reversal of America's lagging productivity, they do not minimize either the background papers for the authors of the CED report or, in the case of two notable pieces based on the unpublished research of the chief of the Center for Economic Studies in the US Bureau of the Census, J. R. Norsworthy, were specifically prepared to advise the trustees. These papers have now been made more widely available in the correct belief that not to have done so would have represented a loss

BOOKS

ECONOMICS

PRACTICAL ECONOMICS

G. D. H. COLE



A famous "Penguin original", published first in 1937; a picture from Fifty Penguin Years (Penguin, £4.95).

Interrelated elements: more rigorous investigation, perhaps the most critical component; an increased rate of investment; and greater freedom for the operation of market mechanisms, more specifically the avoidance of protection for industries and firms with poor economic prospects and abstinence from the use of legal processes to handicap more successful enterprises. The government - whose activities have so often impeded the natural allocation of capital - is called upon only to create an environment conducive to increased productivity by the effective control of inflation which is shown to have been a major discouragement to investment and the greatest impediment to long-term contractual arrangements and "to undertake a commitment to a high level of funding of basic research, particularly that which is carried out in the nation's universities". To the British reader, the recom-

mendations concerning the role of the government in resuscitating the American economy are among the most important issues raised in this thought-provoking volume. The student of economic history accustomed to explanations of Britain's relative decline in the late 19th century which feature entrepreneurial failure, will derive amusement from the fact that American entrepreneurs, with whom the British have for so long been unfavourably compared, are now being similarly castigated, especially the increasing number of those with legal backgrounds. Some other points may be emphasized. It would appear that the single most important contributor to America's productivity slowdown has been insufficient savings and investment, and that much of the new capital investment that has been undertaken has been in order to comply with safety regulations and pollution rules which are essentially unproductive. Conversely, it is believed that a rapid growth in capital stock, which can be viewed as raising the workers' capacity to process a greater volume of materials, has been a major source of Japanese growth, although it is highly probable that labour-management relations in Japan have greatly facilitated the assimilation of new technology. The causes of the current overvaluing superiority in the rate of growth of Japanese productivity are traced to among other things, the greater literacy and numeracy of Japanese workers than their American counterparts and to the much slower structural shift towards services in Japan, a potent cause of lowered productivity. Such examples of the rich mixture of empirical findings, absorbing argument and policy recommendations within this book could be multiplied; they deserve careful consideration by businessmen and politicians as well as by economists. Although they rest on technical foundation, the complexity of which is usually only hinted at, the papers are extremely readable; the unobtrusive references are valuable; only an index is missing.

P. L. Payne
P. L. Payne is professor of economic history at the University of Aberdeen.

BOOKS

ECONOMICS

Turning points

Economic Growth in the Third World 1850-1980
by Lloyd G. Reynolds
Yale University Press, £35.00
ISBN 0 300 03252 2

The idea that the third world requires its own kind of economics is no longer fashionable: the difference between the poor countries and ourselves is not an analytically different economic order but only, as Hemingway might have put it, that they have less money than we do. The argument of this book is that there is also nothing distinctive about the historical evolution of third world economies.

After the reassertion of mono-economic comes the reappearance of mono-economic history. Countries first grow economically as they are able to support increasing populations at roughly constant levels of living. A turning point is reached, and intensive growth succeeds extensive growth, when economic production averaged over population shows a protracted increase. This rise need not be self-sustaining; it may be maintained or accelerated over time, but it may also decelerate, stop or be reversed. Except in the largest countries, turning points are associated with increases in the ratio of exports to gross domestic product. The exports may be, and usually are, of primary products.

The turning points have been compatible with colonial status, and they are dated in the 19th and early 20th centuries for many countries in the third world as for those in the first and second worlds. Subsequent economic diversification occurs spontaneously as income continues to rise, basic markets expand, and the balance of advantage shifts between importation and local production. Other significant transitions occur when population growth slackens, the agricultural labour force begins absolutely to contract, and real earnings in wage-employment rise. These patterns are explored by Professor Reynolds in forty of the larger

countries of the third world (Vietnam and North Korea, for want of documentation, and South Africa, for no clear reason, are the only omissions). Twenty-five of these countries, mostly in South America, south-east Asia and Africa, are classed as early starters (pre-1930) in intensive growth; eight, including China, India and other big Asian and Middle Eastern countries, as late starters (post-1945); and seven, such as Bangladesh and Zaire, as non-starters. With only two or three exceptions, the turning points are connected with the phases of rapid expansion in world trade either in 1850-1914 or in 1945-73.

The statistical information required to establish the turning points is generally deficient, if not altogether lacking, and Reynolds' "standing on the shoulders of the country specialists", relies on their judgement. Often, it seems, the development of new export trades is taken as sufficient evidence of the beginning of intensive growth. Two thirds of the book consist of chapters condensing the findings of the country specialists. Like other readers' digests, they do not rivet attention, and the sources utilized are likely to appear skimpy, a bibliography of four hundred items notwithstanding, for those particular countries with whose history a reader happens to be well acquainted. Still, the undertaking was a formidable one, and, as Reynolds would say, anyone who thinks he could have done it better is welcome to try. From 1950 Reynolds is on firmer factual ground. Using estimates produced by the World Bank, he divides 37 of his countries (China, Bangladesh and Cuba have to be omitted) in four tiers according to the rapidity of their growth in output per head in 1950-80. He then provides an illuminating analysis of the contrasts among these groupings in the changes that have occurred over the period in physical indicators of welfare, the sectoral origins of output, the composition of expenditure, demographic behaviour, agricultural and food production, and export performance.

This is work done in the spirit of Kuznets, and it should be widely read. One regrets only that Reynolds discusses so briefly the soundness of the data he uses. How much difference to his conclusions would be made by a 20 per cent margin of error in the underlying GDP aggregates, such as is not constant, especially in African estimates? How much, if any, credence should be given the Food and Agriculture Organization measurements of average daily calorie availability per head (one of the physical welfare indicators), when estimates of food production could be

erroneous by up to 50 per cent, losses in storage have to be guessed, cubic conversion factors are inexact, population totals are at best approximate and at worst have been invented, and population growth rates could well be out by one half of a percentage point? How much of what we "know" statistically about the third world is merely received opinion? Reynolds is conscious of such questions. "Part of what I will be 'explaining'", he writes, "is differing degrees of statistical error rather than differences in performance", but he cannot be said to agonize over them. The results are reported of regressing the reported national rates of economic growth against possible explanatory variables. Exporting and agricultural expansion show up most strongly as proximate sources of overall growth. Capital formation is also strongly related with growth, but seemingly as a dependent variable; a high investment ratio results from, rather than causes, enrichment. The size and density of national populations and their rates of increase are insignificantly related to economic growth.

Political conditions rather than economic variables explain economic growth, according to Reynolds. Nearly all his turning points are associated with momentous political changes - the end of civil warfare in South American countries; the advent of economically progressive regimes in Thailand, Turkey and Iran; revolutions in China and Egypt; decolonization in Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Nigeria; decolonization in India and Pakistan. Contrasts in economic performance since 1950 are explained by differences in the sense of national identity, the economic interests of ruling groups, continuity in policies, administrative competence and the accepted limits of governmental responsibility. The poor performers are clinically fragmented and politically unstable societies, ruled by rentier groups and served by administrations charged with functions far beyond their ability to discharge. The dispassionate reading of economic time-series, so far as they can be constructed, has not been favoured by most of the writers who have contributed to the literature of third world development, but clearly has much to recommend it as a way of reaching common-sense conclusions. This is a book one will gladly recommend to students.

Douglas Rimmer
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Pay as you enter

Protectionism, Exchange Rates and the Macroeconomy
by J. L. Ford and Somnath Sen
Blackwell, £25.00
ISBN 0 631 14352 1

Since the Second World War tariffs have been reduced as a result of a series of multilateral negotiations, carried out within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. However, in recent years, partly as a result of world depression and partly because of difficulties in adjusting to changed patterns of competitiveness, there has been a growth of what has come to be called the "new protectionism", which seeks to reverse the old order based on free trade. It does so primarily by means other than tariff and quota, including the more subtle non-tariff barriers, although quotas in particular sectors such as agriculture have also featured. Of great significance is the fact that the new protectionism has been supported by neo-economic arguments.

Protectionism has been subjected to close scrutiny by economists and economic historians. In economics the subject tends to break down into micro and macro components. Micro analysis concerns itself with claims that it may be economically justifiable to protect particular industries or sectors. Macro analysis considers whether protection can be a beneficial ingredient, alongside more conventional elements such as monetary, fiscal and exchange rate policy, in achieving higher aggregate output and employment. Traditional economic analysis has been opposed to protection. On the micro economists have wielded their

axes with great verve. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that recently some North American academics with mainstream reputations have been arguing that protection in the high technology sector may be capable of economic justification. On the macro case is saying that countries with flexible exchange rates should dispense with the illusion that restrictive commercial policies will increase employment. Nevertheless the Cambridge Economic Policy Group (CEPG) has espoused protection as a basis for economic recovery, and Ford and Sen give some consideration to its views.

Since history affords instances of protection, it is hardly surprising that economic historians have also been involved in assessing its effects. One obvious case is the protection introduced by the UK in 1932. The then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Neville Chamberlain, was confident that this would prove to be a turning point in Britain's economic fortunes. Historians have for the most part been variously sceptical but recent economic analyses by Foreman-Peck and Eichengreen have suggested that protection made a not unimportant contribution to economic recovery. The student of protection will be aware that it is a topic which arouses strong passions for them not only to dispute the conclusions of their rivals but also to question the latter's credentials. It is into this somewhat charged atmosphere that Ford and Sen enter with, it should be said, a commendably cool and rigorous analysis.

Their focus is the macroeconomic aspect. They approach it through a series of economic models of increasing complexity which centre on the small open economy under conditions of flexible exchange rates. Their object is to identify the macroeconomic

contribution of tariff and quota protection. The impact of such commercial policy in the context of fixed and flexible exchange rates has hitherto been a relatively neglected subject. Their major conclusion is that the idea that protection must be avoided at all costs is not universally valid. Protection can amplify the effects of conventional monetary and fiscal policy and indeed provide a stimulus to the rest of the world. Naturally Ford and Sen are acutely aware of the possibility of retaliation. However, they draw comfort from three points: first, that the adverse effects of a small retaliation is less likely against a small country; second, the adverse effects of a tariff on other countries' exports may be more than compensated for by the accompanying expansion of activity in the protecting country; and third, not all countries will need to engage in protection at the same time. Protection could be used in sequence as national problems arose and could be abandoned sequentially as those problems were alleviated. The second of these ideas is not new - it is part of the CEPG position. It should also be noted that the CEPG proposal have argued that the promise that an expansionary effect will accompany protectionism will not inhibit other countries from retaliating against what they will regard as clear breaches of international agreements. This point takes on added significance when we note that Ford and Sen envisage their protectionist policy as being of possible application to older trading nations such as the UK.

The authors, whose credentials are manifestly not in doubt, exhibit great skill and not a little elegance in the development of their models and in the presentation of their findings.

Dennis Swann
Dennis Swann is professor of economics at Loughborough University.

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BOOKS

ECONOMICS

Produced overseas

British Manufacturing Investment Overseas
 by David Shepherd, Auhrey Silberston and Roger Strange
 Methuen, £16.95
 ISBN 0 416 39490 6

Observers of the growth of direct foreign investment in recent years have been offered a variety of explanations of why it occurs, ranging from the desire by firms to capture all the monopoly rents from their intangible assets, to attempts to exploit exchange rate differentials. Much of the empirical research undertaken to test these hypotheses has been at a relatively high level of aggregation, mainly because of the formidable problems involved in assembling adequate data. In contrast, the core of the present study is a detailed questionnaire and interview analysis of 23 large UK manufacturing firms which accounted for about 15 per cent of net assets in the sector and had invested in Western Europe or North America.

The study is effectively in two parts. The introductory chapters give a statistical summary of the industrial and geographical composition of UK foreign direct investment followed by a review of some of the main theoretical contributions and a brief analysis of its historical development. In the second part the results from the case studies are presented, initially in summary form based on the questionnaire replies and then in more detail from the interviews with the executives of the firms which agreed to participate.

Among the more striking conclusions from the questionnaire analysis was that direct investment advantages, which feature prominently in a number of explanations of foreign direct investment, were not

seen as an important factor in the initial decision to invest. On the other hand, market size and growth were given as major reasons for making direct investment attractive. Many readers are likely to find the most interesting and suggestive part of the study the summary discussion of the interviews. It emerged quite strongly, for example, that lower value added products were made abroad while the newer, higher technology products were made at home and exported because of the need for very close control over quality and specification. Second, while productivity per worker was generally higher abroad than in the UK, the differences were offset by higher wage costs, but in any case cost comparisons were only a minor part of the overseas investment decision. The major factors governing these decisions were tariff and non-tariff barriers (especially nationalistic purchasing policies) against exports: "If one had to pick a single factor which over the long-run has been the most important in promoting British manufacturing investment overseas that factor must be the presence of trade restrictions in other countries".

As a result of this last finding the authors conclude that in practically all cases investment in Britain was not a feasible alternative to investment overseas. While it is probably true that in some cases exports could have been made instead, there would have been on a much smaller scale than the overseas production. Nevertheless it might well have led to a sizeable increase in the level of employment in export industries. What is much less clear is whether the increase would have persisted in the face of firms from other countries seizing the opportunities for direct investment.

With policy towards overseas investment once more on the political agenda, the authors have produced a valuable and balanced contribution to the debate. They succeed admirably in their objective of deepening our knowledge of why firms have made their past foreign investment decisions and how these are likely to develop in the future.

M. A. Utton

Dr Utton is reader in economics at the University of Reading.

Earnings related

Dynamics of Income Distribution
 by John Creedy
 Blackwell, £19.50
 ISBN 0 631 14499 4

In the *Dynamics of Income Distribution*, Professor Creedy offers a synthesis of many of his excellent writings on the subject which have appeared in the academic journals since 1973. As the title implies, he argues strongly against the misleading use of static descriptions of income which are measured over short periods of time in favour of a more systematic analysis of changes in income over a long span of years. He suggests a number of issues to which such an analysis can make a substantial contribution - inequality, occupational choice, social insurance (including unemployment benefit and pensions) and taxation policy.

With the exception of the brief introduction, the remaining 11 chapters have all appeared, in one form or another, in readily available published sources over the past decade. Thus the book will provide nothing that is new to the specialist in this area, though each chapter has been re-written to a greater or lesser extent, to provide more context and integration than would have occurred in a straightforward collection of published papers. It has to be remarked that these changes are essentially cosmetic, which says one thing for the depth and durability of the analyses but another for the "added value" to the reader who is already familiar with Professor Creedy's work.

What of the reader new to the subject? The material is presented in a relatively formal and technical manner which would probably place it outside the grasp of someone untrained in statistics to at least second-year undergraduate level. The style is elegant and clear, if rather terse. As to content: following the brief introduction, part two examines statistical measures of income inequality, which as the author admits, is rather uneasy

within the main thrust of the argument. The remaining parts on how income distribution changes over time provide the core of the book. Part three contains changes in relative earnings using both regression and matrix methods; part four contains a penetrating discussion of age-earnings profiles with particular emphasis on the aggregation problem; part five analyses aggregation over time and the measurement of lifetime earnings. A correct approach here is essential for accurate comparison of different income streams arising from, for example, different occupations; the final part contains many important insights on the tax and social insurance system.

Despite the high standard of analysis and the many incisive comments within its short span, the book left me with a sense of considerable disappointment at an opportunity missed. The worthy formal analysis is available in other sources and the level of technical competence required of the reader may mean that the important points made by Professor Creedy are not understood by those who really matter. The book could have provided significant evidence of the power of careful economic and statistical analysis to inform public discussion and is a need for a book which is prepared to guide the non-specialist through the major problems and misconceptions involved with income distribution. Unfortunately, I do not see this particular book accomplishing that aim. In fact, it is rather difficult to see what market the book is primarily directed. It seems a little too specialized for an undergraduate text - the main thrust being on statistical measurement rather than explanation; and academics and postgraduates should probably read the more formal presentation available elsewhere.

Brian Chipilin
Brian Chipilin is professor of industrial economics, accountancy and insurance at the University of Nottingham.

The Economy and the 1983 Budget edited by John Kay has been published by Blackwell at £5.95. Contributors include Tim Congdon, Alan Budd, Andrew Britton and John Kay.

How they planned India

Western Economists and Eastern Societies: agents of change in South Asia, 1950-1970
 by George Rosen
 Johns Hopkins University Press, £28.00
 ISBN 0 8018 3187 3

In the early fifties the Ford Foundation became closely involved in the analysis of economic policy in India and Pakistan. It operated to a large extent through the Harvard Advisory Group in Pakistan and the MIT Center for International Studies in its work in India, although the foundation did employ some economists directly. This book provides the story of that involvement over the period 1950-70 and is written by someone who worked in the programmes for several years, of which a number were spent in the sub-continent.

The beginnings were deeply rooted in political motivation. In the Gaither Report (1949), which helped change Ford into an international foundation, the concern with alleviation of poverty and promoting growth arose in part because of the need to submit to the United Nations a plan for economic development when hunger and frustration undermined their faith in the existing order. And in the interchange between Gaither and Stratton (then provost of MIT) concerning the funding of MIT's centre, it was claimed "the ultimate aim of [all the non-technical research] was the production of an alternative to Marxism". To someone who does not recall the atmosphere of the times such a motivation for the establishment of a research centre at one of the leading academic institutions of the world is very striking.

The work of the programme lay partly in the advice given to the planning commissions through visiting economists but also in the training of scholars from the sub-continent and in studies carried out in the USA. Most of the book is taken up with an account of the individuals, their visits and their inter-relationships with governments, policy-makers and planners. To someone (including myself) with a number of friends and acquaintances among the *dramatis personae* some of the stories are fascinating but the account of who said what to whom quickly becomes boring.

Rosen returns to the big questions at the end of the book. Most of the western economists involved saw the experience as an important part of their own development. And it seems, the planning experience of India and Pakistan in the period has had an effect on the perception of planning both by academic economists and international institutions. It is, however, to Jan Little in his recent *Economic Development* that we must look for this story. Rosen sticks much more closely to the historical detail of movements of individuals and their interactions. This is at times frustrating and greater emphasis on the economic problems and the process of policy-making would have helped in coming to a judgement as to what the effects of the western economists on the policies themselves really were.

In conclusion Rosen links the history of the involvement to the decline of interest in development economics in the USA. He suggests "the impact of their experience in disproving the early simplistic and optimistic theories of economic development and such myths of academia as the hard (value-free) character of economics and the pure character of academic research may have discouraged the long-run interest of American academic economists in the economics of developing countries". If this is true it is disappointing. A cycle of wide-eyed enthusiasm followed by depression and abandonment is surely no way for intellectual inquiry to advance.

The economics of development remains challenging, interesting and profoundly important. It is fortunate that, at least outside US universities, its study persists.

N. H. Stern

N. H. Stern is professor of economics at the University of Warwick.

BOOKS

ECONOMICS

Flexible friends

World Finance and Adjustment: an agenda for reform
 by Graham Bird
 Macmillan, £27.50 and £9.95
 ISBN 0 333 31477 8 and 38877 1

During the 1960s undergraduates were commonly taught that the balance of payments problems which seemed to dominate government policies could be eliminated by allowing exchange rates to float. By abandoning one of the fundamental principles of the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement our difficulties would be resolved. After more than a decade of experience with floating exchange rates most of the problems of the 1950s and 1960s are forgotten. There is a hankering for another "adjustable peg" regime. Exchange rate overshooting under perfect foresight emerged as one of the brightest analytical gems of international macroeconomics in the 1970s, providing support for those who were disillusioned by the wild oscillations of the exchanges since 1973.

Graham Bird's policy-oriented guide to world finance and adjustment shares this dissatisfaction with "the post-1973 non-system". In the first part of the book Bird describes the decline in world economic performance since the quadrupling of oil prices. This decline he takes as *prima facie* evidence for the inadequacies of the financial system, but in a longer term perspective it should be noted that at least the years 1973-79 compared favourably with the inter-war years or with the classical gold standard period 1870-1914. It was the Bretton Woods period, the long post-war boom, that was aberrant. Pessimism about the international monetary system has a long and respectable pedigree. Triffin in the 1960s wrote about the half-century of monetary dross since 1914. However, the spontaneous order and automatic regulation of the gold standard does not hold the same fascination for Bird. He regrets the difficulties experienced by the International Monetary Fund in 1982 and supports those who demand a new Bretton Woods. Although he recognizes that reforms will in fact be piecemeal, he does believe these reforms should be guided by a grand strategy. These views are not particularly obtrusive in what is essentially a

course text which tries to avoid the formal apparatus that springs from almost every page of conventional international macro books. A solitary pair of IS-LM diagrams creep into a footnote and equations appear on only six pages in the body of the book.

The second part covers international financing and consists of chapters on the supply and demand for reserves, on short-term capital markets, the private banks and the IMF, on foreign aid and the private bond market, and on the debt problem. Here the reader will find detailed discussion of the intricacies of Special Drawing Rights, the ambiguous position of gold and the Eurocurrency markets. Bird generally rehearses the argument for and against any controversial institution or policy before giving his evaluation. This is especially so for aid. He believes the dual gap analysis, whereby aid breaks the foreign exchange constraint, survives its critics. While recognizing that in these circumstances policy needs to focus on export promotion and import substitution, he does not really deal with the claim that aid encourages the persistence of inflexible policies which create the lack of substitution possibilities described by the two gap model.

At the end of 1983, 30 "developing" and centrally planned economies were renegotiating or in arrears with their international loans. Without a renewal of growth in industrial countries the debt problem will deteriorate. Bird maintains, and current arrangements are unsatisfactory. But is this so? A major default would clearly be disastrous but this has so far been avoided. The growth of private bank lending in the 1970s is usually asserted to have been a "bad thing" but there is



The Bank of London and South America in Buenos Aires

Plea for rationality

Economic Forecasting and Policy: the international dimension
 by John Llewellyn, Stephen Potter and Les Samuelson
 Routledge & Kegan Paul, £12.95
 ISBN 0 7102 0600 3

The secretariat of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has a well-deserved reputation for the high standard of economic analysis in its briefing papers and publications. They are always judicious and carefully researched, usually well-written and presented, sometimes original and very clever indeed. Because OECD is an inter-governmental organization, however, one senses a certain inhibition in its official publications, which must be drafted so as not to offend the sensibilities of any member government too directly. One therefore picks up with high hopes and lively curiosity a book written unofficially and, it is said, in their spare time, by three senior economists from the secretariat.

The book has two main themes, both no doubt close to the heart of any economist working in an international agency. The first is a plea for rationality in economic policy, for a careful study of the facts and forecasts before decisions are made, with an implicit suspicion of the simple generalities beloved by many, if not all, politicians. The second is a plea for cooperation,

for the free exchange of information between countries and for explicit consideration of the way one country's economic policy will affect the rest.

This second theme is a timely one. For the authors, one suspects, the high-water mark of policy-making was the Smithsonian meeting of December 1971, called to discuss the realignment of exchange rates. There was then a real wish for agreement, something concrete to agree about and, of course, superb staff work by the International Monetary Fund and the OECD. The aftermath of that agreement, however, was the final collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the beginning of a new era was always regarded by the international agencies which had run the old system with considerable reserve. The next major attempt at cooperative economic policy-making, at the Bonn Summit in 1978, although it met in a spirit of cooperation, can hardly be called a success.

Nevertheless, there are signs now that the climate of opinion is changing. In the last few years a number of economists have advanced our understanding of the way conflicts of interest between governments could be resolved and the general good served by cooperation. But the interest in these matters is not just theoretical. We have observed this year how objectives can conflict if there is no cooperation between countries. It is, for example, impossible as a matter of arithmetic for all countries to achieve exchange rate appreciation at once. The recent initiative by the Americans to coordinate intervention in the foreign exchange markets by the major central banks is a most important step towards cooperation in economic policy. There

something to be said for unconditional finance if the only official lender, the IMF, imposes inappropriate conditions on many borrowers then believed. There are advantages from having a variety of institutions which have different views about country risk. Charging higher risk countries higher interest rates on loans is a private alternative to refusing them money unless they pursue prescribed policies, as the IMF requires.

Part three of the book analyses balance of payments adjustment in two chapters discussing structural, Keynesian and monetarist approaches to disequilibrium and offering an agnostic survey of exchange rate systems which goes to show how little they are truly understood.

The final part of Bird's text is entitled "The Political Economy of Reform". It discusses the interests of developing countries and their scepticism about exchange rate flexibility because of the difficulties of forward cover and their dislike of decentralization. Also considered is the possibility of countries' loss from the freeing of gold prices and their general feeling of being discriminated against both before and after the pure Bretton Woods system, in the first place because of alleged asymmetrical adjustment pressures which encouraged them to devalue. In this and the final chapter on the IMF, Bird is concerned with evaluating prescriptions and commenting in an ad hoc commonsense way on the likelihood of various reforms being implemented. He does not offer an explicit theory or theories of political economy to predict or explain which policies will or have come about. That seems to be a pity in view of the interestingly new work being undertaken in this field. There have been changes in international monetary arrangements since 1973 which need explaining. Almost in passing he mentions the oil, compensatory, and supplementary financing facilities the IMF whose principal beneficiaries have been poorer countries. Not referred to is the increase in IMF quotas for less developed countries (LDCs) in the 1970s, when according to the original agreement LDC falling trade shares would have called for a cut. Why were these changes made? Was it the bargaining strength of OPEC, the generosity or guilt of the rich countries or what? Of course it would be difficult to know everything you ever wanted to know about the international monetary system into one book. Graham Bird's text has the merit of covering the salient issues in a readable manner that will be accessible to students with very little background in economics.

James Foreman-Peck

Dr Foreman-Peck is lecturer in economics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

could be no better time to publish a book about the logistics of international economic policy-making. The book falls into three main parts. The first is historical, describing the successes and failures of economic policy from the 1950s to the 1980s. It could be said that the discussion of domestic stabilization policy in the earlier part of the period is rather out of proportion to its relevance for the book as a whole, but it is undoubtedly interesting, especially for a British reader.

The second part includes some more technical material about the way international forecasting is organized at OECD. The assessment of forecasting accuracy will interest many readers, since OECD records provide an exceptionally long period for analysis. The results reported are encouraging and confirm that economic forecasting is of real value to policy-makers.

The third section contains some reflections on policy-making and the benefits that could be derived from cooperation. The authors, although they tell us they are "moonlighting", do not take the opportunity to offer any outspoken criticism of the way policy has been conducted by governments over the period they review. They remain as balanced, as judicious (and as inconclusive) as they would have been had they been writing an official report. No doubt that is as it must be. They have nevertheless provided us with a first-rate book on a subject of topical interest.

Andrew Britton
Andrew Britton is director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

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 Giles Keating is Head of Financial Forecasting at the Centre for Economic Forecasting at the London Business School, and Editor of the *IBS Financial Outlook*.
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South Australian College of Advanced Education

FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCE AND EDUCATION - Short

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Recruitment Committee
Abadan Institute of Technology,
Ahwaz, Iran.

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